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San Diego mission

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SAN DIEGO DE ALCALÁ, O. F. M.
(Saint Didacus.)

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The Missions and Missionaries of California

New Series. Local History

SAN DIEGO MISSION

BY

Fr. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O. F. M.

Author of "Missions and Missionaries," "Franciscans in California," "Franciscans in Arizona," "Holy Man of Santa Clara," Etc.

"Colligite quae superaverunt fragmenta, ne pereant." Joan. vi, 12

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PREFACE

California, in the early days, was divided into four military districts. The headquarters or garrisons were located at San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco, respectively. These military posts provided the guards for the Missions situated within the limits of their jurisdiction. The military district of San Diego embraced the Missions of San Diego, San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel, of which the City of Los Angeles in spiritual matters was a dependency. Although independent of one another, a sort of union or connection existed among the Missions of the district. This suggested the geographical rather than the chronological order in relating the local history of the twenty-one Missions.

Like the author's General History on the Missions, this Local Account is almost entirely compiled from the documentary sources enumerated and qualified in the Introduction to his second volume of *The Missions and Missionaries of California.* Numerous other works on the subject have been published, but they generally reveal the mind of the writers rather than historical facts. As a rule, such scribes never saw a Spanish document, nor would they know how to use it if they happened to see one. Hence their productions on California abound in such glaring errors and even wilful misstatements as to be of little or no use to the author whose sole aim is to present complete and accurate information. The reader may confidently rely on the statements made in this work, since they are based on official documents and other trustworthy authorities. Scrupulous care has been exercised to insure accurate figures, notably in the Tables compiled from the Annual and Biennial Reports of the missionaries.

Mission San Diego, being the first in point of time, naturally requires more space for its history than the other

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missionary establishments of the district. In many ways it is typical of them all. Large portions, therefore, such as detailed reports, all that concerns the presidio and harbor of San Diego, etc., need not be repeated in subsequent volumes. The costly reproduction of inventories, like the one relegated to the end of the book, will also be unnecessary. In this case it was deemed advisable to present it entire in the original so that the reader may see at a glance, so to speak, what many words could not demonstrate so effectively—the difference between the management of unselfish missionaries and that of hired administrators.

The author cordially acknowledges himself indebted and herewith renders thanks to his assistant, the Rev. Fr. Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., for helping to revise and prepare the manuscript for the printer; to the Rev. Fr. Paul Meyer, O. F. M., for sorting and arranging the vast documentary material collected; to the Rev. Fr. Valentine Dorenkemper, O. F. M., for translations from the French and the Italian; to the Rev. St. John O'Sullivan for the genuine charity and hospitality repeatedly experienced at Old Mission San Juan Capistrano; to the successive Rev. Secretaries of the Diocesan Chancery, Los Angeles; to Hon. Grant Jackson of Los Angeles and to Mr. Charles B. Turrill of San Francisco for the use of many rare old engravings; and to all other friends who by word and deed encouraged and facilitated his labors in the interest of historical truth.

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FIRST MILITARY DISTRICT

I

SAN DIEGO MISSION

(1769 - 1862)

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CHAPTER I.

Discovery of Harbor by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo.—The Indians.—Pilot Ferrelo.—Spanish Intrepidity.—Harbor Rediscovered by Sebastian Vizcáino.—Harbor Named.—Don José de Galvez's Expeditions.—The *San Antonio* and the *San Carlos* Arrive.—Their Disastrous Voyage.—Many Succumb to Hardships.—Captain Vila's Narrative.—Arrival of First Land Expedition.—Fr. Juan Crespi's Interesting Letter.—The Second Land Expedition Arrives.—Fr. Junipero Serra's Letter.

THE far-famed harbor of San Diego was first discovered by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese navigator in the service of Spain, only fifty years after Christopher Columbus had planted the Cross on the Island of San Salvador. Cabrillo with the two ships *San Salvador* and *Victoria* entered the bay on Thursday evening, September 28, 1542. It was the eve of the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel, wherefore the commander christened the port San Miguel.

"Having cast anchor in it," the Diary of the voyage relates, "the men went ashore where there were people (Indians). Three of these waited, but all the rest fled. To these three they gave some presents, and they said by signs that in the interior men like the Spaniards had passed.[1] They gave signs of great fear. On the night of this day, they (the sailors) went ashore from the ships to fish with a net; and it appears that here there were some Indians, and that they began to shoot at them with arrows and wounded three men.

"Next day, in the morning, they went with the boat farther into the port, which is large, and brought two boys, who understood nothing by signs. They gave shirts to both and sent them away immediately.

"Next day, in the morning, three adult Indians came to

[1] This undoubtedly refers to Alarcón's expedition up the Gulf of California. See *Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. i, p. 25.

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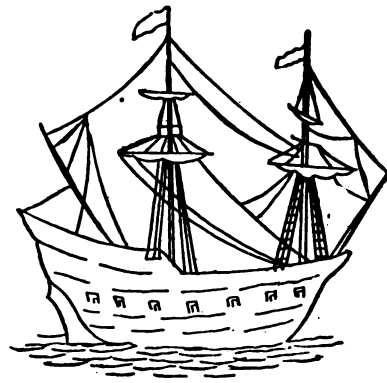
the ships and said by signs that in the interior men like us were traveling about, bearded, clothed, and armed like those of the ships. They made signs that they carried crossbows and swords; and they made gestures with the right arm as if they were throwing lances, and ran around as if they were on horseback. They made signs that they were killing many native Indians, and that for this reason they were afraid. These people are comely and large. They go about covered with skins of animals.



WHAT CABRILLO'S SHIP WAS LIKE

"While they were in this port a heavy storm occurred; but since the port is good, they did not feel it at all. It was a violent storm from the west-southwest and south-southwest. This is the first storm which they have experienced. They remained in this port until the following Thursday. The people here called the Christians Guacamal. On the following Tuesday, October 3, they departed from this Port of San Miguel."

Once more the *San Salvador* ran into the harbor of San Diego, this time in charge of Pilot Bartolomé Ferrelo, since its heroic commander Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo had died on the Island of San Miguel in the Channel of Santa Barbara. Accordingly, the Diary relates: "On Sunday, the 11th of the said month of March, they reached the Port of San Miguel (San Diego) but did not find the consort

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there, or any news of her. Here they waited six days; and here they secured two boys to take to New Spain (Mexico) as interpreters, and left certain signals, in case the other ship should come here. On Saturday, the seventeenth of the said month, they left the said port of San Miguel." [2]

Of the ships in which Cabrillo ventured into these unknown waters, Professor George Davidson, as quoted by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, writes: "These vessels were smaller than any of our coasting schooners. They were poorly built and very badly outfitted. Their anchors and ironwork were carried by men from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific; they were manned by conscripts and natives; were badly provisioned, and the crews subject to that deadly scourge of the sea, scurvy." [3]

"Regarding Cabrillo's voyage as a feat of navigation under distressing difficulties," says Bolton, "the following quotation from Navarrete is apt: 'Those who know the coast which Cabrillo discovered and explored, the kind of vessels in which he undertook the expedition, the rigorous season during which he pursued his voyage in those intemperate climes, and the state of the science of navigation at that period, cannot help admiring a courage and intrepidity which, though common among sea-faring Spaniards of that time, cannot be appreciated in our day, when the navigator is fairly dazzled by the assistance furnished him through the wonderful progress of the arts and sciences, rendering his operations easier and supplying him with advantages which, as they were lacking to the early discoverers, make their courage and perseverance as portentous as their discoveries. Perhaps it is failure to realize these considerations, added to ignorance of our history, which has led some foreign writers to belittle the merit of Cabrillo.'" [4]

After Cabrillo's eventful expedition, the port of San Diego

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[2] Bolton, *Spanish Explorations*, pp. 13-39. See also *Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. i, pp. 25-28.

[3] *Spanish Explorations*, pp. 5-6.

[4] *Spanish Explorations*, p. 10.

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remained unknown to the world until Sunday, November 10, 1602, the eve of St. Martin's Day, when about seven o'clock in the evening the three ships *San Diego, Santo Tomás,* and *Tres Reyes,* in command of Sebastian Vizcáino, dropped their anchors in its placid waters. The commander, in his Diary, declares that the port is "the best to be found in the whole South Sea; for, besides being protected on all sides and having good anchorage, it is in latitude 33½ degrees.[5] It has very good water, many fish of all kinds, of which we caught many with seine and hooks. On land, there is much game, such as rabbits, hares, deer, very large quail, royal ducks, thrushes, and many other birds."

"On the morning after the day of the glorious St. Martin,"[6] Torquemada writes, "the general ordered some men to go and examine a mountain which protects this harbor from the northwest wind; these men were Ensign Gaspár de Alarcón, Captain Alonso Peguero, Fr. Antonio de la Ascension, and eight archers. They found much live oak timber and other trees, such as the rock-rose and others resembling rosemary, besides some very odoriferous and wholesome plants. From the top of the mountain the port appeared to be very fine, spacious, and convenient, because it was sheltered against all storms. The mountain, which protects the port on the northwest side, may be three leagues in length and half a league in width. On the other side to the northwest of the mountain is another good port.

"When they had returned with this report, the general commanded that a suitable tent be pitched on the land to serve as a church, where the religious might celebrate holy Mass; that the ships be cleaned and tarred; that some men procure firewood and others stand guard. This was done on a sandbank, or island of sand,[7] where they dug

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[5] At Point Loma Lighthouse, 32 degrees, 40 minutes, and 13 55/100 seconds. See Davidson, *Pacific Coast Pilot,* p. 19.

[6] i. e. November 12, 1602, feast of St. Dídacus, according to Franciscan Calendar.

[7] "que se hizo en un Arenal, ó Isla de Arena."

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wells. When the sea was high, the pools contained sweet and good water; but when the tide went out the water was brackish. One day, a sentinel gave notice that many Indians were coming along the beach, all armed with bows and arrows, but naked and besmeared with black and white paint. The general requested Fr. Antonio to go and receive them in a peaceful manner. Ensign Juan Francisco and six archers went with him. When they had come up to the Indians and had made signs of peace with a strip of white cloth and by throwing up earth with their hands, the first thing the Indians did was to turn the bows and arrows over to the soldiers. Fr. Antonio embraced the savages and gave them some strings of beads, which they put on their necks for display. Thereupon they went to the place where the general was; but when they saw the multitude of Spaniards, they did not dare approach, and so withdrew to a hill, whence they sent two wrinkled old women. When these arrived at the tent, the general, the religious, and some of the soldiers gave them strings of glass beads and some biscuits and with these sent them to tell what treatment they had received at the hands of the people who had recently arrived in their country. The women related their impressions, whereupon all immediately came to see the Spaniards. Most of them came painted black and white, and wearing many feathers on their heads. Vizcáino and the others received them with much pleasure and, besides many other things, gave them fish which had been caught in their presence with a net. The color of the paint was a bluish black and very glossy. When the Indians were asked by means of signs what it was, they showed some pieces of metallic stone, from which they made it; and they said by means of signs that from these stones a people in the interior, who wore beards and were clothed like the Spaniards, extracted it and made fine ribbons, that were like the laces the soldiers had on their leather jackets and like the kind the general wore on his hose of violet velvet; and that those men wore just such fine uniforms as our Spaniards. Quite transported with

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the good treatment accorded them on this occasion, the Indians came every third day for biscuits and fish, bringing in return skins of martens, wild cats, and other animals, together with the traps in which they caught them. There are in this harbor many white fish, sea fish, oysters, clams, lobsters, crabs, and sardines, and along some of the creeks were seen many wild geese, ducks, quails, hares, and rabbits. The general and Fr. Antonio de la Ascension with some soldiers went over the land to examine it, and all were pleased with the beautiful sky and climate."

"Friday, the fifteenth of the month," Vizcáino's diary relates, "the general went aboard the frigate, taking with him his son, Fr. Antonio, the chief pilot, and fifteen arquebusiers, in order to go and take the soundings of a large bay which entered the land. That night, rowing with the flood tide, he got under way and at dawn was six leagues within the bay, which he found to be the best, large enough for all kinds of vessels, more secure than at the anchorage, and better for careening the ships; for they could be high and dry during the flood tide and could be taken down at the ebb tide, even if they were of a thousand tons. . . In this bay the general with his men went ashore. After they had gone more than three leagues along it, a number of Indians appeared with bows and arrows, and although signs of peace were made to them, they did not venture to approach, excepting a very old woman who appeared to be more than one hundred and fifty years old and who approached weeping. The general cajoled her and gave her some beads and something to eat. Seeing this kind of treatment, the Indians came peaceably and took us to their rancherias where they were gathering their crops and where they had made their *paresos* of seeds like flax. They had pots in which they cooked their food, and the women were dressed in skins of animals. The general would not allow any soldier to enter their rancherias; and, it being already late, he returned to the frigate, many Indians accompanying him to the beach. Saturday night,

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he (Vizcáino) reached the flagship, which was ready, wood, water, and fish having been brought aboard."[8]

"All having been carried out that the general had commanded," Torquemada continues, "orders were given to move out from there and to resume the voyage. Accordingly, the departure from the port took place on Wednesday, November 20; but before sailing, all made their confession and received Holy Communion, because already many soldiers were ill, and some of the best men had died. The voyage was therefore continued, the Capitana or flagship *San Diego* and the Almirante or *Santo Tomás* leaving together, and the frigate or *Tres Reyes* following later." Vizcáino concludes his report with the remark that the port was given the name San Diego.[9]

Again the magnificent harbor of San Diego was left unnoticed by the Spaniards, this time for 167 years. Fearing that the Russians would take advantage of her past exploits,[10] Spain, in 1769, at last decided to secure by right of discovery the bay along with the entire northwest coast. Accordingly, in that year, Inspector-General Don José de Gálvez despatched from Lower California two expeditions by sea and two by land, instructing them to meet and unite at the harbor of San Diego. The first expedition arriving by sea in the *San Antonio,* commanded by Captain Juan Pérez and accompanied by the two Franciscans Fr. Juan Viscáino and Fr. Francisco Gómez, reached the port on Tuesday, April 11, 1769, fifty-four days after leaving Bay San Barnabé, Lower California. Casting anchor near Point Guijarros, now Ballast Point, the vessel waited for the arrival of the *San Carlos* and of the two land expeditions.

The *San Carlos,* formerly the *Golden Fleece,* in command of Captain Vicente Vila, and having the Franciscan Fr.

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[8] *Spanish Explorations,* pp. 81-82.

[9] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. i, pp. 47-52, and Appendix A, for the patron saint.

[10] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, p. 1.

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Fernando Parrón on board as chaplain, had set sail at La Paz on January 10, much earlier, therefore, than her sister ship. But misfortune accompanied her throughout the voyage, as the following extracts from the diary of her commander demonstrate.

"On Saturday, April 29, . . . five o'clock in the afternoon," Vila relates, while entering the mouth of San Diego Bay, "I discovered the packet *San Antonio* anchored at Point Guijarros.[11] We broke out our colors. She broke out hers and fired one gun to call in her launch which was ashore. I continued to tack . . . and anchored in six fathoms of water. At eight o'clock in the evening, the launch of the *San Antonio* came with her second in command and pilot, Don Miguel del Pino, who gave us an account of her voyage. She arrived at this port on April 11, half her crew down with scurvy, of which two men had died. For work they had only the seven men who came in the launch, and of these a few already felt symptoms of the same disease. Captain Juan Pérez also was in poor health. Only the two Missionary Fathers were well.

"At four o'clock in the morning of Sunday, April 30, I made sail and after several tacks I anchored in six fathoms of water, at about eight o'clock when Holy Mass was celebrated.

"At five o'clock in the morning of Monday, May 1, I succeeded in anchoring under the shelter of Point Guijarros, alongside the *San Antonio*. At seven o'clock, the *San Antonio* saluted with six guns; we heard holy Mass on board and afterwards answered her with five guns. At ten o'clock, Don Juan Pérez came aboard with the Missionary Fathers, Fr. Juan Viscáino and Fr. Francisco Gómez.

"At half past ten on the same morning, the launch of the *San Antonio* went off with Don Pedro Fages, Don Miguel Costansó, Don Jórge Estorace, my mate, the same Missionary Fathers, and those men who were strong enough

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[11] Ballast Point, most probably, where Pérez anchored, and most likely also Cabrillo. The place deserves to be marked by a monument.

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to go, in order to explore the country and to search for a good watering-place, because the water which the crew of the *San Antonio* had collected in pools was not, owing to its brackishness, fit to drink. Meanwhile, Don Juan Pérez gave an account of the condition of his crew. Few of his men were in proper condition to continue the voyage to Monterey, as directed by Gálvez, and as he had intended to do on the last day of April, in case of the non-arrival of the *San Carlos*."

Captain Vila then described the situation on his own ship, the *San Carlos*. The packet had only two seamen in good health; the rest were ill, with more than half of the soldiers in a similar condition, without medicines and fresh food to help them, as everything had been consumed on the voyage; in addition, the surgeon, Don Pedro Prat, was unable to help them, owing to the fact that he himself was seriously ill.

"At nine o'clock in the evening, the launch (we had sent to shore that morning) returned. The officers and the Missionary Fathers reported that they had walked about three leagues along the shore and at that distance had come to an Indian rancheria on the banks of a river with excellent water; that the Indians inhabiting the village to the number of thirty-five or forty families scattered along the stream in small rude huts, were very friendly and gentle; and that the country was pleasant and green, abounding in various odoriferous plants, wild grapes, and game.

"At five o'clock, Tuesday morning, I weighed anchor; and with the launch of the *San Antonio* out ahead, I took advantage of the rising tide and proceeded farther into the harbor. At half past seven, I anchored in seven fathoms of water. . . At five o'clock in the afternoon, Wednesday 3, several soldiers with Fr. Fernando Parrón, Don Pedro Fages, and Don Jórge Estorace went off in the launch to bury the dead seamen on the shore.[12]

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[12] Names are not given. On the *San Carlos*, the boatswain Fernández Álvarez had died April 18, in latitude 27 degrees, 46 minutes, and

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"At ten o'clock Friday morning, May 5, I anchored astern the *San Antonio,* at a distance of a full cable's length, in two fathoms of water. After twelve o'clock, I sent the launch with orders for her men to return under arms at two o'clock in the afternoon, in order to reconnoiter the mouth of the river, along with Lieutenant Pedro Fages, and to arrange a few huts for the sick. At three o'clock in the afternoon, Don Pedro Fages with four of the less ailing sailors and several armed soldiers embarked in the launch. The launch of the *San Antonio* with her captain and several soldiers went to reconnoiter toward the southeast, in which direction the port extended. At sunset, the launches returned. Don Pedro Fages had found on examination that at high tide the launch could enter the mouth of the river quite easily in order to fill the casks.

"At six o'clock, Saturday morning, a Philippine sailor, named Agustín Fernández de Medina, died. At eight o'clock, the launch of the *San Antonio* put off with Don Pedro Fages, Don Miguel Costansó, Fr. Juan Viscáino, and the soldiers who were best able, in order to begin the construction of the barracks. At sunset, the launch returned with the Missionary Father and the officers. They had decided to build the barracks for the sick on a hillock close by the beach and a cannon shot from the packets. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, Sunday, May 7, Indians came alongside on their rafts and, in exchange for a few trinkets, gave us several skins of sea-otters and of other animals caught in traps. At half past ten, the same morning, the launch went ashore with the officers and the Missionary Father to take charge of the building of the barracks; and they returned at sunset. On Monday morning, at eight o'clock, the launch went ashore. In it were embarked from the packet boat two cannon

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Manuel Reyes, the pilot, Sunday, April 23, in latitude 32 degrees, 11 minutes. Both were buried at sea. In connection with the latter, Vila notes that on this day all who had not yet made their Easter duty confessed and received Holy Communion. It was the fifth Sunday after Easter which latter in that year fell on March 26.

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with their carriages and everything needed to handle them, a supply of muskets, bullets, eight days' supply of corn, pulse, jerked beef for the soldiers in the garrison, and hard-tack to be used in soups for the sick."

After the lodgings had been completed, at eight o'clock in the morning, the sick were taken to the shore. "I remained on board," Vila continues, "with the quartermaster, who was extremely ill, a Galician sailor, and a little cabin boy, who also had touches of the disease. I was unable to walk, and Fr. Fernando Parrón also was ill. At eight o'clock, Tuesday morning, May 9, I sent the launch ashore to construct another barracks for the ten sick men from the *San Antonio*. On the same day, four soldiers fell sick, and Don Miguel Costansó told me that only eight men fit for work were left on the shore. At two o'clock in the afternoon, Manuel Sánchez, a cabin boy, died; and Mateo Francisco, a Philippine sailor, died on Wednesday morning at eight o'clock." [13] Here the account of heroic Captain Vila terminates. The outlook for the two crews was gloomy, indeed; but relief was near.

Only four days later, Sunday afternoon, May 14, the first land expedition under Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada arrived at the sorely tried camp near the Rio San Diego. With him came as chaplain the Franciscan Fr. Juan Crespi.

Fr. Juan Crespi was the first of the missionaries who dated a letter at San Diego. It was addressed to the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando College, Mexico. For that reason, and because the contents relieve us of the necessity of explaining the situation at the port and other details regarding the first land expedition, the letter is reproduced here entire.

Viva Jhs. Ma. y Joseph! [14]

My ever most esteemed Fr. Guardian:—I shall rejoice very much if on receipt of this letter your Paternity enjoys robust health. Thanks

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[13] Bancroft with Hayes thinks that Punta de los Muertos or Dead Men's Point, at San Diego, derived its name from the burial of the scurvy-stricken soldiers. We do not think that the Spaniards, who

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be to God, I enjoy that benefit, and very willingly I offer it at your feet for the execution of your greater pleasure.

On February 26, of the current year, by order of the Fr. Presidente,[15] I set out from Mission Purisima Concepción where I was in charge, taking the road to the north for the glorious conversion of the numerous pagans who occupy this hemisphere at the ports of San Diego and Monterey. On March 22, I reached the place called Velicatá, situated eighteen leagues from the most northern mission of Santa Maria, having marched one hundred and eighty-two leagues from Purisima, where I started out by land, to said place of Velicatá. At this place, I accompanied Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, captain of this province and commander of this land expedition, who had been awaiting me, in order to penetrate at once into the heart of heathenism in search of the Port of San Diego.

On March 24, we set out from Velicatá, the said commander with twenty-five leather-jacket soldiers, three muleteers, and about fifty-two Christian Indians from the missions. A train of about one hundred and eighty mules and horses brought along the necessary supplies. I followed the expedition for the sole purpose of ministering to the spiritual wants of the men.

On May 14, Pentecost Sunday, we reached this excellent port of San Diego, all in good health, thanks be to God, and nothing of note having occurred on the way. From Velicatá to this port of San Diego we traveled fifty-two days, almost the entire way leading through regions that are as rough and barren as any this peninsula of California offers. The distance from Mission Santa Maria, whence we started for this port, according to the calculations I made in my journal, which I kept by order of the Fr. Presidente, is one hundred and twenty-eight leagues and a half; consequently, from Velicatá to this port is only one hundred and ten leagues and a half.

Having arrived at this port on the afore-mentioned day, we learned that the two packetboats of His Majesty, the *San Carlos* and the *Principe* (*San Antonio*) lay at anchor; that the *Principe* had arrived in the month of April, her voyage from Cape San Lúcas having lasted about one and one-half month; and that the *San Carlos* had dropped anchor on April 29, having made the voyage in three months and eighteen days. We found on land a general hospital erected for the men of both vessels and for twenty-five volunteer soldiers from the *San Carlos*. Until now, twenty-three sailors and soldiers have died.

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preferred to have the cemeteries near the church, would have buried the dead so far away. See Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 130-131.

[14] *Blessed be Jesus, Mary, and Joseph*—the usual way Fr. Serra and other Fathers head their letters.

[15] i. e. Fr. Junípero Serra.

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Nearly all the survivors of the sea expeditions are suffering very much from scurvy. Very few can keep on their feet. Only by a miracle will most of them be able to escape with their lives. In this distress, the commanders of the expeditions have determined that the *Principe* shall depart as soon as possible for San Blas, in order to report to the viceroy and to Inspector-General Galvez what has happened.

Here I met our companions, the Fathers Viscáino, Parrón, and Gómez, who had come with the said ships. They are well. As they will inform Your Paternity about everything more at length, I shall not molest you further on this point. We are hourly awaiting the arrival by land of the Fr. Presidente and of the governor of this province.[16] We have as yet no news from them. May God hasten their safe arrival.

The gentiles all over the country are numerous and much more so farther inland. The territory is more sterile than any we have seen, and there is a lack of food for the poor wretched pagans. Even the daily bread of the wretched people in this country is the maguey plant;[17] but this is wanting in the greater part of the sierra, so far as we have observed with our own eyes. For this reason most of the savages of both coasts endeavor to subsist on what the sea yields.

We have seen many rancherias on our way. The male savages go altogether naked with no more clothing than nature provided. The women go decently covered, in front with fibres strung together on a girdle, in the back with a deer or seal skin. They cover also their breasts and other parts of the body with a kind of mantle made of rabbit skins, which they tie together very well. Men and women are very much painted. The men have the cartilege of the nose pierced and filled with a piece of shell. They are well armed with bows and arrows. All the Indians of this land are very lively and great traders. They are docile, although on the road hither, a rancheria of savages followed us for three days intending to attack us with arrows. They did shoot three arrows at us, but not within a distance to hit any one. The soldiers then fired two shots without wounding any one, whereupon the savages retreated and let us pass on in peace.

This port of San Diego, as two pilots have ascertained, is not in latitude thirty-three degrees and thirty-four minutes, as the ancient reports have, but in thirty-two degrees and forty-two minutes.[18]

When we reached the port we found, about one league distant, a good river running with sufficient water; but in a few days it ran dry.

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[16] Fr. Palóu never gives him the title governor. He was the military commander of the expedition to Upper California and had been governor only of Lower California.

[17] "El pan quotidiano de los miserables en este pais es el mezcal."

[18] See note 5.

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Yesterday, May 21, Fr. Viscaino and I went out to examine it, accompanied by the lieutenant of the troops, Don Pedro Fages, and the engineer, Don Miguel Costansó, and seven or eight soldiers. We followed the course of the river which runs through a cañada of much level land, in places extending from a quarter to half a league. The soil seems to be good for raising corn and wheat. In some parts there seem to be marshes or humid soil. All along the river bed there are poplar, willow, and alder trees. We found it dry in many places. In some spots there were pools with water, and in other places there was only a streamlet. We walked about three leagues up the river bed and the valley; but conditions were the same, until we reached the sierra, when the bed narrowed; but there was no running water. We do not know whether any irrigation could be done from it. However, if there be sufficient rain, as in other parts, good crops of cereals could be produced, as there is much land and good pasture. Building stones we have not seen anywhere.[19]

According to the disposition of Fr. Presidente Fernando Parrón,[20] it seems a stay will be made here; but I, according to instructions of Fr. Presidente Serra, shall take passage in the bark to Monterey, in order to join, when it shall please God, the said Fr. Presidente there. May it please His Divine Majesty to hasten this event, so that in said port the Standard of the Most Holy Cross may be planted and stay forever, and that the numerous savages, who are there and are seen here, may be converted to the holy Faith.

I do not know whether Your Paternity has received the two letters which I wrote from Purisima, I think, in May and November of the past year 1768. In them I begged you to grant me the consolation and favor, when more missionaries come to our aid from Spain, of letting my companion, Fr. Cruzado, come to my assistance. I left him in Tilaco.[21] He has a burning desire in that way, as he explained to me before we parted. He was not permitted to come along at the time because only one Father from each mission could set out. We are well-known companions since a long time, and here there is much that he could do. Although I shall pass on to join the Fr. Presidente at Monterey, yet it is understood, it seems, that in a short time the three missions to be founded will be six. So there

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[19] If he had advanced a league farther, Fr. Crespi would have changed this last statement.

[20] He was Presidente or Superior of the Fathers till the arrival of Fr. Junipero Serra.

[21] In the Sierra Gorda Indian missions of Mexico. Fr. Cruzado arrived at San Diego in 1771, and was assigned to Mission San Gabriel, where he died in 1804. The remains were buried in the mission church.

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will always be room for said Fr. Cruzado, of course, if your means and holy obedience send him.

Although I still have a habit that is in good condition, the old one was entirely ruined on the long journey over a road that runs through sierras all the way. So if you can, please send, when opportunity offers, a habit with cowl, and one tunic and cord; for there is nothing here from which to make them. I am also in need of some handkerchiefs. So, if possible, send four or six of the Puebla manufacture, since we are so far away; for I have only two which I saved from the sierra, and they are somewhat used up. Since I came here, I was unable to secure any. Likewise I ask you for a strong cross for the rosary on the girdle, because the one I have is broken. It will be a favor I shall appreciate very much and God will repay you. Pardon me for being so troublesome. I pray that God may guard you and preserve your important life many years in His divine love and grace. Port of San Diego, June 22, 1769. I kiss the hand of Your Paternity and remain your least but most devoted subject who in Christ venerates you. Fr. Juan Crespí.

P. S. I beg you to give the enclosed to Fr. Cruzado. I recommend myself with all the veins of my heart to the entire holy Community, begging them to have me present in their holy Sacrifices and prayers.[22]

The second land expedition now approached its destination. Don Gaspár de Portolá, governor of Lower California and military commander of the expedition, with a few attendants rode ahead and reached the Bay of San Diego on Thursday, June 29, 1769. Fr. Junípero Serra, the Presidente or Superior of the missions to be established in Upper California, came up with the main body on Saturday, July 1, forty-six days after leaving the last Lower California Mission, San Fernando. The reader can well imagine the demonstrations of joy, the salute from the ships, and the expressions of thanksgiving on this occasion, wherefore the description is here omitted. Next day, July 2, being Sunday and the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a solemn High Mass of thanksgiving was offered up to Almighty God in honor of St. Joseph,

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22 *Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de California,* Quarto Series, Museo Nacional de Mexico. This letter was kindly copied for the writer at the Museo Nacional by Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California.

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the patron of the expedition. About one hundred and nineteen persons, many of them still very ill, survivors of the two hundred and nineteen who had set out from Lower California by land and sea, celebrated the reunion. Next day, Fr. Junípero Serra wrote his first letter from Upper California. It is interesting enough to be reproduced. It reads as follows:

Blessed be Jesus, Mary, and Joseph.

Rev. Father Lector [23] and Presidente [24] Francisco Palóu,—My dear Brother and Señor:—I shall rejoice if Your Reverence be in good health and laboring with much consolation and success in firmly establishing your new mission field of Loreto and of the others; and if, as soon as possible, the reinforcement of new missionaries comes, so that everything may be established in good order for the consolation of all. Thanks be to God, I arrived here day before yesterday, the first of the month, at this truly beautiful and justly famed Port of San Diego. I here came up with all who had preceded me by land as well as by sea, except those who had died. Here are our companions, the Fathers Crespi, Vizcáino, Parrón, Gómez, and myself, all well, thanks be to God. Here are the two ships; the *San Carlos* is without sailors, for all have died of scurvy, save one and a cook; the *San Antonio,* otherwise *El Principe,* whose captain is Don Juan Pérez, a countryman from Rivera de Palma, arrived here twenty days before the other, although she had set sail a month and a half later. Just as she was about to sail for Monterey, the *San Carlos* arrived. While the crew of the *San Antonio* endeavored to succor those of the *San Carlos,* they themselves were infected, so that eight of them died. In the end, it was resolved that the *San Antonio* should return from here to San Blas and bring up sailors for herself and for the *San Carlos,* and that thereupon both should sail. We shall see in what condition the *San José* arrives. If she comes in good condition, she, the last ship, will be the first to depart.

Two things have caused the disaster on the *San Carlos.* The first were the defective barrels from which it was unexpectedly discovered water had escaped, so that of four barrels not enough was left to fill one. Hence they were obliged to hasten to land to take water; but what they obtained was of poor quality, and from drinking it the crew began to take sick.[25] The second cause was the misappre-

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[23] i. e. professor of theology. With members of religious Orders, Lector stands for professor.

[24] He was Presidente in Lower California after the departure of Fr. Junípero Serra.

[25] See Appendix B.

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hension under which all labored, His Excellency as well as the rest, that this port lay between latitude thirty-three and thirty-four degrees; for some authors claim the one and some the other. Gálvez had given strict orders to Captain Vila as also to the other captain to sail out into the ocean and proceed as far as latitude thirty-four degrees and then to cruise in search of said port; but since this port is actually not in a higher latitude than thirty-three degrees and thirty-four minutes, according to the observations made by the officials here, the ships passed far beyond this port, so that when they looked for it, they failed to find it; and this caused the voyage to be prolonged. Furthermore, as the crew already ill reached a colder climate and continued using the unwholesome water, they were all so much prostrated that, if they had not made for the port soon, all would have perished; for they were already unable to let down the launch to obtain water or to do any other work. Fr. Fernando labored faithfully with the sick, and although he became feeble, nothing particular happened to him, and now he is already in good health. I shall not let him embark again, and he is glad to stay here.

On this occasion I am writing at some length to the Inspector-General, to the College, and to our Father Commissary-General. Hence I am somewhat tired. If it had not been that Captain Pérez, seeing me so occupied, diverted himself otherwise, I believe he would have sailed away and I should have been unable to write at all. With regard to the journey of Fr. Juan Crespi in company with the captain, he tells me that he is writing a letter to Your Reverence and sending it by this same bark, so that I have nothing to say. So far as I am concerned, the journey has been truly a happy one, without any noteworthy break in my health. I started out from the frontier mission with my foot and leg in the worst condition; but God operated[26] so that each day I was more relieved, and made the journey as if I had no such malady. At present the foot is altogether as sound as the other; but from the ankle to half way up, the leg is like the foot was before, one sore; but there is no swelling nor more pain than an occasional itching; in fact, it is not worth mentioning.

I have suffered neither hunger nor want; nor have the Indian neophytes who came with us suffered; and so all have arrived sound and strong. I have kept a diary. On the first occasion, I shall transmit to Your Reverence a part of it. The missions in the regions which we have seen will all thrive very well, because there is good land and sufficient water. On the road hither and for great distances back, there are no rocks or thorns; but there are hills, indeed, very high and continuous, though composed only of earth. Some roads are

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[26] Fr. Serra alludes to medical treatment received at the hands of a muleteer. See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. i, p. 361.

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FR. JUNIPERO SERRA, O. F. M.

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good, others are bad; more, however, are of the latter kind, though it is no matter of importance. About half way or earlier from where we started, we began to encounter many arroyos and ravines overgrown with poplar trees. There are pretty and large wild vines; in some places they are loaded down with grapes. In various arroyos along the road and in the place where we are now, besides wild grapevines, there are various roses of Castile. In fine, it is a good country, very much different from the land of Old California.

From May 21, when we left San Juan de Diós, as I wrote Your Reverence, until July 1, when we arrived here, save eight days during which we rested the animals, one day here and another day there, we have journeyed every day. However, the longest march was six hours; of such days there have been but two. On the other days the march lasted four or four and a half hours, from two to three, and even only one and a half hour, as on each day the diary states, and that, too, at the pace of the pack-mules. From this it may be inferred that, when one is well equipped and the roads are more direct, many leagues of the superfluous circuits could be cut off. The road is not very long. I believe that after this trouble is taken, it would be a matter of about twelve days for the Fathers; and the soldiers right now declare that lightly burdened they would go to the frontier Mission of San Fernando de Velicatá in much less time.

The natives are exceedingly numerous, and all of this coast of the South Sea along which we came from the Enseñada at Todos Santos, so called on the maps and charts, live well on various seeds and on fish which they catch from rafts made of tules and formed like canoes, with which they venture far out on the sea. The Indians are very friendly. All the males, men as well as boys, go naked. The women and girls are decently covered as far as the breast. In that manner they would approach us on the road as well as in the camps. They would treat us with such confidence and ease as though they had known us all their life. When we wished to give them something to eat, they would say they did not want that, but clothing. Only for things of this kind would they barter their fish with the soldiers and muleteers. All along the road were seen rabbits, hares, and sometimes a deer, and very many antelopes.

The expedition by land, the governor tells me, he will continue together with the captain (Rivera) three or four days from now. He will leave us here, he says, with eight leather-jacket soldiers as guards and some sick Catalonian soldiers who may serve in the same capacity when they have recovered. The mission has not been founded, but I shall take steps in that direction as soon as they depart. My friend, I had written so far, when my countryman, the captain, came and told me that he could wait no longer without loss, and so I conclude with saying that the Fathers here earnestly recommend

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themselves to Your Reverence; that we are well and contented; that I recommend myself to Father Martínez and the other companions to whom I intended to write, but cannot; I shall do so at the first opportunity. Because the captain tells me he is going to sail for the South, I am sending this letter to Fr. Rámos, that he may read it and forward it to Your Reverence, whose life and health God may keep many years. From this port and proposed new Mission of San Diego in northern California. July 3, 1769. B. L. M. de V. R., your most affectionate brother and servant. Fr. Junípero Serra.[27]

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[27] Palóu, *Vida*, cap. xvi.

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CHAPTER II.

The *San Antonio* Returns to San Blas.—Portolá Sets Out for Monterey Bay.—Founding of Mission San Diego.—Greed of Indians.—Their Aversion for Spanish Food.—Savages Attack the Mission.—Bravery of the Blacksmith.—Savages Receive Their First Lesson.—Casualties Among the Spaniards.—Charming Incident.—Friendly Youth.—Frustrated Baptism.—Dr. Prat's Devotion to the Sick.—Portolá Returns from the North.—He Determines to Abandon San Diego.—Fr. Serra's Resolution.—Captain Vila Agrees with Fr. Presidente.—Fr. Serra Notifies Fr. Palóu.—He Proposes a Novena.—His Anxiety.—The Feast of St. Joseph.—The Ship! the Ship!—California Saved.—The *San Antonio* Arrives.—Fr. Serra to Fr. Palóu.—Expeditions to Monterey Bay.—Found at Last.—Heroic Captain Vila Sails and Dies.—Arrival of Ten Franciscans.—Rivera Brings Up the Cattle.—Soldiers Desert.—Fr. Paterna Induces Them to Return.

IN view of the fact that so many soldiers and sailors had already succumbed to scurvy, and that the many who were still suffering from this dread disease had poor prospects of a speedy recovery, Portolá and Vila decided that the *San Antonio,* manned with such of the crew as were able to serve, should sail for San Blas, report the situation to Don José de Gálvez, and return with new seamen for both vessels. Accordingly, on July 9, Captain Juan Pérez set sail with a small crew of convalescent sailors. Only twenty-one days later, he reached the Port of San Blas, Tepíc Territory. Nine of his crew, however, had died at sea.

At the same time, the *San Carlos,* lying idle at San Diego with only Captain Vila, five sailors, two cabin-boys, and two soldiers on board, it was decided that Portolá proceed by land in search of Monterey Bay. Accompanied by Fathers Juan Crespi and Francisco Gómez, this land expedition started out on Friday, July 14, 1769, after a Solemn High Mass had been offered up to Almighty God in honor of St. Joseph for the success of the undertaking.[1] For the pro-

[1] As this subject does not concern us here, we refer the reader to *Missions and Missionaries of California,* vol. ii, for particulars.

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tection of the camp, which in reality was now a great hospital or pesthouse, the first in California, Portolá left behind only eight soldiers or rather six, since two had remained aboard the *San Carlos;* to these were added one corporal, one blacksmith, one carpenter, a servant, eight Christian Indians from Lower California, and the ever-faithful Doctor Pedro Prat.[2]

While Portolá was pursuing his northward course, Fr. Junípero Serra at San Diego called to mind the chief object of his coming to California—the conversion of the savages to Christianity. So far, holy Mass had been celebrated in a brushwood shelter and that only for the Spaniards. The zealous friar now resolved to establish for the natives a center of missionary activity, after the manner of those he had served in the Sierra Gorda, Mexico, in other words, an Indian mission. For this he chose a location adjoining the Spanish camp. Regarding this enterprise of Fr. Serra, Portolá, on April 17, 1770, nearly three months after returning from his unsuccessful expedition to Monterey Bay, reported to Viceroy De Croix in these terms: "The mission has been moved to the satisfaction of the Fr. Presidente, and it is guarded by nine soldiers, including the sergeant, but not counting three or four other individuals." [3]

Sunday, July 16, the day selected for the founding of the first mission in California, was a most appropriate one, Fr. Palóu observes; for on that day, in the year 1212, the Spaniards under the banner of the Holy Cross gained a glorious victory over the Mahomedans. This event was annually celebrated by a special feast termed the Triumph of the Holy Cross. Furthermore, it was the day of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, through whose intercession Fr. Serra hoped to wean the savages from their beastly practices and induce them to accept the ennobling Faith of Christ.

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[2] See *Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. ii, pp. 16-18.

[3] *Archivo General y Público,* quoted in the *San Francisco Call* by Professor Herbert E. Bolton.

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On the morning of July 16, therefore, the zealous Fr. Presidente, assisted by Fathers Vizcaino and Parrón, raised the Cross where the chapel was to stand; whereupon, he blessed the sacred emblem of salvation as also the location for the future mission, both within sight of the harbor.[4] The few men able to be on their feet, when not attending the scurvy-stricken soldiers and sailors, lent their assistance in constructing a few poor huts of stakes which they roofed with tules.[5] These rude structures together with the hospital camp they surrounded with a stockade.

One of the buildings somewhat larger than the rest was selected for divine worship until a better chapel could be built. On the day of its dedication, Fr. Serra himself sang the High Mass and preached an appropriate sermon. Such was the formal beginning of Mission San Diego de Alcalá near what is now Old Town, San Diego; and its first missionaries were Fr. Junípero Serra and Fr. Fernando Parrón, the latter having come from Lower California on the ill-fated *San Carlos.*

Without delay, Fr. Serra endeavored to attract the savages who now and then would show themselves; but, since the Fathers could not understand their language, the Indians would accept the gifts offered them and then try to steal whatever came within their reach. They would molest even the sufferers abed. Without the least fear, they would ridicule the soldiers; and when a gun was fired, they would jeeringly mimic the report, for they had yet to learn the disastrous effect of firearms. From day to day they grew more insolent, so that often the Spaniards were tempted to teach them a wholesome lesson; but prudence demanded forbearance.

Though the savages would seize any article that could

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[4] "Levantó el V. P. Junípero el estandarte de la Santa Cruz, fijandola en el sitio que le pareció mas proprio para la formacion del pueblo á la vista de aquel puerto." (Palóu, *Vida*, 82-83.)

[5] "unas pobres chozas de tule dentro de la estacada." (Palou, *Noticias*, vol. ii, p. 254.)

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be carried off, they coveted especially all kinds of cloth. It was not that they wished to dress decently; for, as Fr. Crespi goodnaturedly remarks, were all the clothing in the warehouses of Mexico delivered to them with instructions to cover themselves, they would wear them on that occasion, indeed, but afterwards would let them disappear forever. So eager were the San Diego natives for drygoods that one night they approached the ship, by means of their tule rafts, and, only for the vigilance of the sailors, would have succeeded in cutting a piece of cloth from one of the sails. On another occasion, they were caught in the act of cutting one of the ropes. This audacity caused the commander to station two soldiers on board the *San Carlos*. In short, reversing his earlier opinion of the natives, Fr. Crespi now declared that "their voracity for stealing is without parallel." [6]

In view of what has been said, it may seem strange that the Indians would accept no eatables from the Spaniards. If, for instance, a piece of sugar was put into the mouth of a child, the little one would spit it out as if it were poison. This aversion, the Spaniards afterwards learned, was owing to the fact that the Indians attributed the sickness of so many sailors and soldiers among the newcomers to what they were accustomed to eat. Without doubt, Fr. Palóu remarks, this was due to the special interposition of Divine Providence; for had the Indians been as fond of the eatables of the Spaniards as they were of their drygoods, the men would have died of starvation.

Among the regular Indian visitors, was a boy who seemed to take a fancy to the mission and who refrained from stealing anything. With him the Fathers and soldiers hoped to make a beginning toward the conversion of his people. Hence they petted and entertained him as well as possible, so that by staying around the settlement he might learn the Spanish language and later act as interpreter.

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[6] Fr. Crespi to Fr. Guardian Andrés, February 8, 1770; *Diario*, January 24, 1770; Palóu, *Noticias*, vol. ii, p. 243.

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In time they succeeded; for in a few years the youth became the official interpreter. All the other natives, however, continued to manifest ill-will; and it soon became evident that at the first opportunity they would openly assail the strangers.

The first attempt in this direction occurred less than a month after the opening of the mission. Armed with clubs, bows, and arrows, the savages attacked it, determined to massacre the Spaniards and to enjoy the booty. But they met with unexpected resistance from the soldiers, who, however, as yet refrained from using their firearms. The savage party withdrew, but only to increase their forces and to await a more favorable time for carrying out their bloody design. Two days later, an opportunity offered itself.

"On the fifteenth of the same month of August," Fr. Palóu relates, "on which day is celebrated the great feast of the glorious Assumption of our Queen and Lady into heaven, two soldiers as usual accompanied Fr. Parrón to the *San Carlos,* aboard which he was to celebrate holy Mass, leaving only four guards at the mission. The Fr. Presidente and Fr. Vizcáino had finished celebrating the holy Sacrifice, during which some of the men received Holy Communion. The four soldiers, it seems, had gone to the river to water the horses. No sooner did the savages notice that the place was without guards, than a great number of them, all armed with bows and quivers filled with arrows, fell upon the mission and began to rob everything they could carry away. They pulled away the very sheets from under the sick. Fortunately, the corporal, who had gone with the horses, saw the savages move toward the mission. Guessing their intention, he exclaimed, 'To arms!', and then hastened back with his three companions. Slipping on their leather jackets, which were impervious to arrows, they grasped the shield in one hand and with the other seized their muskets. When the Indians saw this, they ceased robbing and withdrew, meanwhile discharging their arrows. The time had come to teach them a lesson; wherefore, the soldiers fired their muskets at them. A regular battle ensued, in which the

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Indians to their cost for the first time learned the effects of a gunshot. The four soldiers received material aid from the carpenter and the blacksmith, who used their weapons with much valor. The blacksmith especially excelled in courage. Though he had no leather jacket to protect himself, he ran among the huts and shacks, discharging his musket at the savages and yelling at the top of his voice, 'Long live the Faith of Jesus Christ! Death to the hostile dogs!'

"Meanwhile, in their poor hut, Fr. Presidente and his companion recommended all to God, praying that no deaths might occur either among the soldiers or among the savages, lest any of the latter die without Baptism. After a while, Fr. Vizcáino, desirous to see whether the Indians had retired, slightly raised the maguey mat which served as a door to the hut. No sooner had he done so than his hand was wounded by an arrow. He dropped the curtain, and then recommended himself to God, as did also the servant of God, Fr. Junípero Serra. Although the wound afterwards healed, one finger always remained crippled.

"Some time later, while the battle and the wild shouts of the Indians continued, Joseph Maria, the servant of the Fathers, rushed into the room. Falling at the feet of the venerable Fr. Serra, he cried out, 'Father, absolve me; the Indians have killed me!' He made a brief confession and the Father gave him absolution; immediately after, the wounded man expired. An arrow had pierced his throat. The Fathers kept his death a secret, so that the savages knew nothing about it. Of the aggressors, however, several fell dead. Seeing the power of the firearms and observing the bravery of the Christians, the savages retired, taking along their wounded. They carried away also their dead, so that the Spaniards might not know that any of the Indians had been killed. Among the Christians, besides Fr. Vizcáino, one soldier, one Lower California Indian, and the brave blacksmith were wounded, though not dangerously. Under the care of Doctor Prat, all soon re-

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covered. The death of the servant remained a secret, and his burial took place privately. In keeping with their custom, the savages burned the bodies of their dead. Some of their number must have been killed, though the Indians tried to conceal the fact; for the wailing of the women in the rancherias could be heard at the mission a long time after.

"The Indians soon began to reappear, but without arms and much changed in conduct. They brought their wounded to the doctor who treated them with much sympathy, until all had recovered. The kindness experienced at our hands and the sad lesson they had learned in their last undertaking, induced the savages to treat us with respect and to conduct themselves in a manner far different from formerly. They would visit the mission, but always without weapons of any kind. Nevertheless, for safety, the Spaniards erected a stockade of poles around the buildings; nor would they permit an armed savage to approach the stockade within gunshot." [7]

In connection with this, Fr. Palóu relates a charming incident of the Fathers' first missionary experiences. In the mission, they had a beautiful picture representing the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Child Jesus in her arms. When the Indians heard of it, they would come and ask the Fathers to let them see the picture. Unable to get up close to it on account of the stockade through which they were not allowed to pass, the Indian women would thrust their breasts through the poles, thus signifying their love for the divine Infant and their desire to nourish the beautiful Child.[8] This simplicity of the poor natives consoled and encouraged the missionaries in their efforts to make them spiritual-minded and God-fearing Christians. "Yet," Fr. Palóu continues, "these Indians were not won over to Christianity, nor would they set foot inside the mission. Only the afore-mentioned youth frequently visited the mis-

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[7] Palóu, *Noticias*, vol. ii, p. 253.
[8] Palóu, *Vida*, p. 131.

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sion; but even he would for periods at a time absent himself. In the end, however, this boy of fifteen years came every day and ate whatever the missionaries gave him." [9]

Meanwhile, the presence of the youth had matured a great plan in the mind of Fr. Serra, whose zeal for immortal souls chafed under the inactivity to which the animosity of the natives condemned him and his companions. Entirely at a loss how to gain the confidence of the elder Indians, he hoped to find, with the aid of the boy, means and ways of baptizing some of the children. After that, he trusted, their parents would become more approachable and perhaps even ask for Baptism. How sadly his plan miscarried, we shall let his biographer, Fr. Palóu, relate.

"When the young Indian had learned to understand a little Spanish, the venerable Father told him to try whether he could not, with the parents' consent, bring some little child, because he wanted to make it a Christian like the white men, by pouring a little water on its head; this would make it a child of God and of the Fathers, and a relative of the soldiers, who would present the child with clothing, so that it could go about dressed like the Spaniards. The boy, having at last understood what was wanted, communicated the message to the savages. After the lapse of a few days, he returned with a crowd of Indians, one of whom carried a male infant in his arms. By means of signs the Indian gave the Father to understand that he wanted the child baptized. Filled with holy joy, the venerable Father immediately gave the Indian some suitable clothes with which to dress the child. Then he invited the corporal to act as sponsor and requested the other soldiers to help solemnize the first Baptism which was to be administered in the chapel, with the Indians present. When the Father had finished the preliminary ceremonies and was about to pour on the baptismal water, a savage snatched the child away and ran with it to the rancheria. The others followed laughing and jeering, while the Father stood amazed hold-

[9] Palóu, *Noticias,* vol. ii, p. 253.

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ing the baptismal shell in his hand. When the soldiers proposed to avenge the profanation, Fr. Serra, remembering the ignorance and savage nature of the poor creatures, told the men to overlook the offense. So great, however, was the sorrow of our venerable Father at seeing the Baptism frustrated that for many days he went about with a countenance which plainly showed the pain and grief he felt. He attributed the failure to his sins; and whenever, even after the lapse of years, he told the story, his eyes would fill with tears." [10]

To prevent misunderstanding, it must be stated that in this matter Fr. Serra, no doubt, acted rashly. In keeping with the laws of the Catholic Church, the missionaries never, throughout the history of the missions, baptized either old or young, unless security was given that the recipient would thereafter voluntarily lead a Christian life. For this reason, in the case of adults, Baptism was often postponed till shortly before their death; and in the case of children, the parents had to promise that their baptized offspring should be raised as Christians. The sponsor, too, was each time advised of his relationship with the child, for whom he stood, as well as of the strict obligation he thereby assumed to see that his God-child was raised a Christian. In the case just related, the sponsor could not under the circumstances make such a promise; nor could Fr. Serra accept it as sufficient security. Sponsorship in the Catholic Church is no mere formality. Perhaps the good Father persuaded himself that eventually the Indians would become Christians; but he was making a venture withal, which can hardly serve to justify his method of procedure. It was well, therefore, that he failed, since thereby he as also the sponsor was relieved of a tremendous responsibility.

All this while, the scurvy-stricken sailors and soldiers were treated with the utmost devotion by good Doctor Prat. Although many were on the road to recovery, medicine and careful nursing failed in the case of eight Catalon-

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[10] Palóu, *Vida*, p. 86.

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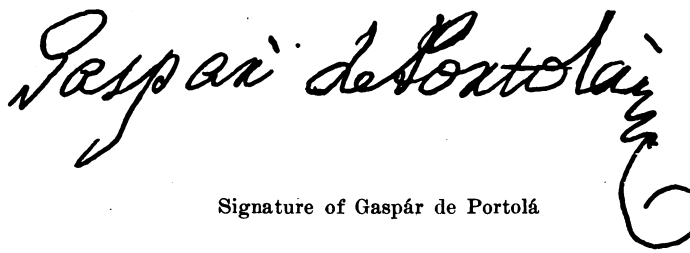
ian volunteers, four soldiers, one servant, and six Christian Indians from Lower California; these died before the return of Portolá's expedition. After indescribable hardships, endured heroically by his men, the captain arrived safe at the starting point, on January 24, 1770. During all this time, the Fathers had not succeeded in making a single convert, unless we except the youth, who, however, was not yet baptized. Nor had any permanent dwellings been erected. Fr. Serra trusted that, when the captain returned with his men, some improvements would be made; but on learning that the *San Antonio* had not arrived with fresh supplies, the commander was in no mood to encourage missionary



Signature of Gaspár de Portolá

work at that time. To Fr. Serra's proposals he replied that the men were exhausted from the late journey; that, furthermore, he did not know whether the mission would be permanent, because he had determined, if by the feast of St. Joseph, March 19, the ship did not arrive with supplies, to begin the return march for Lower California on the following day; there were not sufficient provisions on hand to warrant waiting any longer,[11] he declared, and his men had not come to perish from hunger.

On hearing this, Fr. Presidente retired to his hut. Nothing more was done in the way of building; only an

[11] But Pedro Fages and Miguel Costansó, on February 7, jointly wrote to Gálvez: "That they (the troops remaining) could hold this port until the arrival of one of the packetboats *San José* or the *Principe* (*San Antonio*) which we are expecting daily"—"podrá conservar este Puerto hasta la venida de uno de los pacabotes el *San José ó El Principe* (*San Antonio*) que esperamos de dia á otro."—*Archivo General*, 66.

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enclosure of poles or sticks was erected to serve as a corral for the horses. Nevertheless, Fr. Serra had no mind to give up California. He had come to stay and stay he would, even if all others retired. Thus resolved, he proceeded to enlist the assistance of the heroic captain of the *San Carlos*. On learning from Fr. Serra what Portolá had decided and the reasons that actuated him, Captain Vila declared he was not of the same opinion; on the contrary, he would wait for the relief ship which he was sure would come. Then he would proceed in search of Monterey Bay, because from what he had heard of the late expedition he was convinced that it had actually been at the port without recognizing it. Fr. Serra and Vila, therefore, agreed to stay, even if Portolá insisted on abandoning the country. Accordingly, the Fr. Presidente decided to let two of the four Fathers accompany the party back to Lower California, while he and Fr. Juan Crespi would board the *San Carlos* and there await the arrival of her sister ship.[12]

In a long letter to Fr. Palóu, dated February 10, 1770, Fr. Serra went over the situation at San Diego and then concluded: "Four Fathers, Fr. Juan Crespi, Fr. Fernando Parrón, Fr. Francisco Gómez,[13] and I, are here, ready to found a second mission, if the ships arrive. Should we see that hope and supplies are vanishing, *I shall remain here alone with Fr. Juan Crespi and hold out to the very last.* May God give us His holy grace. Recommend us to God that so it may be. If Your Reverence should find that they are bringing up the cattle which remained at Velicatá,[14] send us a small quantity of incense; for, though we brought the censers, the incense was forgotten. The Ordos might

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[12] See Appendix C.

[13] Fr. Vizcáino, being in ill health, had accompanied Captain Rivera to Lower California. Rivera had been ordered by Portolá to bring up supplies from Velicatá, and had started out February 11. See *Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. ii, p. 61.

[14] This refers to Rivera's errand.

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be sent, too, if they have arrived, likewise the new holy Oils,[15] in case they have come from Guadalajara. The Diaries will be rewritten as quickly as possible, mine as well as Fr. Juan's. I regret very much that they can not go now; but comforts here are meager, so that the mood for writing is at times unfavorable. We shall try, however, and send them off as soon as possible. I should like to tell Your Reverence many things, but encompassed by so many disturbances and obstacles, I can not explain nor write more."[16] The founder of the California Missions proved as resolute and courageous in pursuing an enterprise as he was zealous and God-fearing in undertaking it.

The middle of March was already drawing near. The supplies had so diminished that, according to Portolá, the surplus would barely suffice to reach Velicatá. The sole topic of conversation, Fr. Palóu tells us, was now the retreat southward and the consequent abandonment of the mission and port; and every word, he adds, went like a shaft to the heart of Fr. Serra. In this distress, the Father proposed to Commander Portolá that all make a novena or nine days' devotion in honor of St. Joseph. Portolá agreed and the novena was begun; just enough time remained to have it close on the feast of St. Joseph, March 19.

In his holy prayers, during these days, Fr. Palóu relates, the Fr. Presidente unceasingly laid the matter before God. He besought His Divine Majesty to cause the ship to arrive before the day assigned for the retreat of the expedition, in order that the opportunity of converting so many pagans might not be lost; for, if their conversion were not accomplished at this time, it might become impossible, or it might again be delayed for ages, in which case thousands upon thousands would fail to share its benefits. The good Father remembered that one hundred and sixty-seven years had elapsed since the Spaniards reached this port. If now,

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[15] James, in his *Fr. Serra*, p. 90, translates "Santos Oleos" with "Holy Wafers!"

[16] Palóu, *Vida*, cap. xix.

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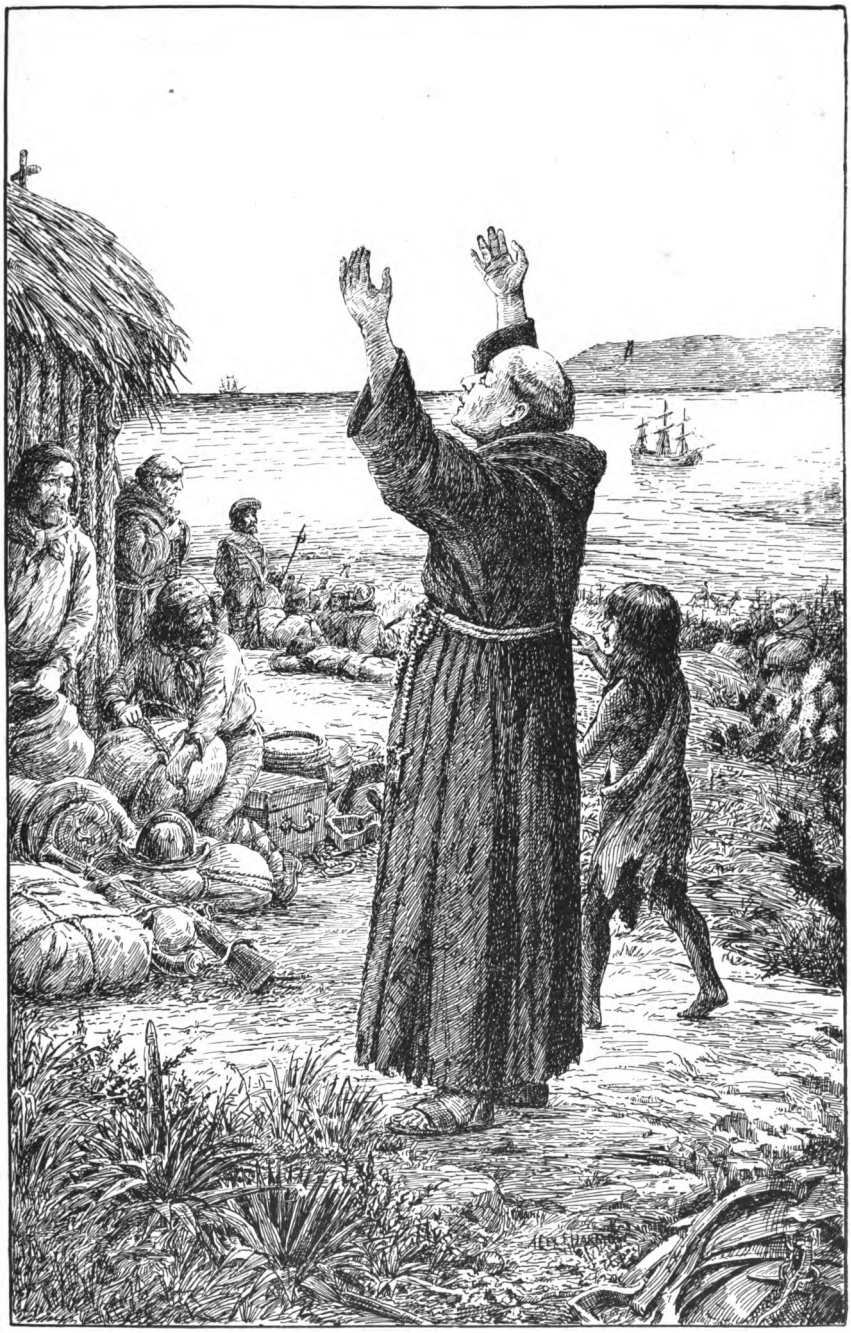

THE SHIP! THE SHIP! CALIFORNIA IS SAVED!

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after formal possession had been taken, the land should be abandoned, centuries might come and go before the country would again be visited.

At length the feast of St. Joseph dawned; but no ship was in sight. One may imagine the feelings of the venerable Fr. Presidente, who still had hope, though hope seemed in vain. In the morning of the feast, the Spaniards attended High Mass during which a sermon was preached, doubtless by Fr. Serra himself, though Fr. Palóu forgot to say so. All preparations for the march to Lower California were made and there was general rejoicing in the camp and in the mission. By noon of the next day, Portolá and his men would be on their way to the south. Only Fr. Serra and the few who shared his mind seemed depressed and disappointed. Had St. Joseph failed to hear their prayer? But no; his feast was not yet over; and with unyielding confidence the noble Father trusted that the ship would come. Nor did he trust in vain. That same day, before the setting of the sun, Fr. Palóu tells us, Almighty God, through the intercession of the Most Holy Patriarch St. Joseph, was pleased to gratify the ardent desire of his servant, thus filling all with consolation. All day long, Fr. Serra had been watching the entry into the bay; at last, toward evening, he clearly and distinctly observed a ship passing the gate of the port. It was but a glimpse, so to speak, but it sufficed to cause Portolá to postpone the departure of the troops. Words can not describe the rejoicings of the missionaries and especially the heartfelt gratitude of their Superior. Portolá and his men were wholly changed. All now encouraged one another to persevere. Finally, after four days, the *San Antonio* came sailing into the harbor. Almighty God, in honor of the holy Patriarch St. Joseph, had wrought a miracle to prevent the abandonment of California. Such at least was the conviction of all at San Diego, especially when the captain of the *San Antonio* explained what had brought him to the harbor of San Diego. He had received instructions from Gálvez to sail directly for Monterey where he would find the land expedition waiting for supplies.

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That was the reason why his ship, on March 19, had sailed past the port of San Diego instead of stopping there. So the vessel sailed on; but as Divine Providence directed, she lost one of her anchors, and Captain Pérez was compelled to turn back to San Diego where he could provide himself with an anchor from the *San Carlos,* which, he knew, was still in the bay.

In gratitude for the timely aid a High Mass was celebrated. Furthermore, Fr. Serra directed that thereafter, on the nineteenth of every month, a High Mass or at least a Low Mass should be offered up to God in honor of St. Joseph.[17]

As the *San Antonio* had brought abundant supplies, Captain Vila and Commander Portolá agreed that two expeditions should again set out in search of Monterey Bay, one by land and one by sea. Fr. Serra was to make the voyage by sea, while Fr. Crespi was selected for the land expedition, which Portolá once more commanded. On the eve of sailing, and on board the ship, Fr. Serra penned an interesting letter, from which we cull the following as especially interesting:

Rev. Fr. Lector and Presidente, Fr. Francisco Palóu.
Dearly beloved Friend, Companion, and Señor:

The *San Antonio,* formerly called *El Principe,* having arrived at this port on the feast of St. Joseph, although she did not enter until four days later, the officials determined on a second trip to Monterey. Fr. Juan Crespi goes a second time by land, while I go by sea. Very late yesterday, Holy Saturday, while thinking the ship would not leave so soon (although I had already embarked everything I wanted to take along, except my bed), I received notice from our countryman, Captain Juan Pérez, that we should have to board the ship that same night. I went aboard, and now we are here at the entrance of the port. Ever since I celebrated holy Mass on board ship early this morning, the men have been at work setting the sails. Fathers Parrón and Gómez remain at San Diego as missionaries. With them will stay a few soldiers who, we notice, have not recovered as fully as the rest of us. Like the guards, I and Fr. Juan Crespi are going with the intention of separating, one for Monterey and the other for San Buenaventura, about eighty leagues distant, in order that neither through our fault nor that of the College the

[17] Palóu, *Vida,* capp. xx, xxi. See Appendix C.

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erection of that third mission of this New California may be frustrated. In truth, for me the greatest of all hardships will be the consequent solitude; but God in His infinite mercy will make good the loss. . . . I am writing this letter with considerable difficulty, seated on the floor of this cabin. I have to do the same with the enclosed letter to His Excellency Don José de Gálvez. It is very short, but it gives an account of myself. By this bark (*San Antonio*), I have not received even a note, much less a letter, from any one.

Verbally, we have received news of the death of our Holy Father Clement XIII, and of the election of the most excellent Cardinal Ganganelli, one of our religious. *Dominus conservet eum, etc.* This information has pleased me very much in this solitude. . . . I have likewise heard of the death of Fr. Moran,[18] for whom we are offering the holy Masses according to our agreement. The reason why no letters came, it is said, is because this vessel was to sail directly for Monterey without touching here; wherefore, all letters intended for us at San Diego have been left behind in order that the packetboat *San José* might bring them up; but she has not yet arrived.[19] A year has already passed by, since I had any news from the College or from His Lordship Don Gálvez. Soon it will be a year since I received a letter from Your Reverence. . . . I shall appreciate it, if you would provide us, when there is an opportunity, with some beeswax for the holy Masses and with some incense. . . . I close this letter to-day, Monday after Easter Sunday, the day of the profession of our holy Father St. Francis,[20] because yesterday we did not leave the mouth of the bay after all, owing to a change in the wind. . . . South Sea, in front of the Port of San Diego, April 16, 1770. . . . Fr. Junípero Serra.[21]

Leaving Sergeant José Francisco de Ortega at San Diego together with eight soldiers, twelve Lower California neophytes, and Fathers Parrón and Gómez, the *San Antonio,* with Fr. Serra, Miguel Costansó, and Doctor Pedro Prat on board, put to sea on April 16, while the land expedition comprising Commander Portolá, Fr. Crespi, Lieutenant Pedro Fages, nineteen soldiers, five Lower California neophytes and two muleteers, set out on April 17. In the harbor lay the *San Carlos,* on board of which were Captain Vicente Vila,

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[18] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. i, p. 292.

[19] The ship was lost at sea and never heard from.

[20] St. Francis made his vows or profession, on April 16, 1209.

[21] Letter entire in *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 66-68.

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his pilot, and five sailors. In June, Captain Rivera came up from the peninsula with twenty soldiers, bringing from Velicatá a drove of cattle and the supplies for which they had been despatched the preceding February.

The two expeditions eventually reached Monterey. After seeing the mission and presidio established, Portolá, on July 9, took passage in the *San Antonio* and, without stopping at San Diego, hastened on to San Blas. On learning this, Captain Vila of the *San Carlos,* after waiting fifteen months to obtain a fresh crew, asked Captain Rivera for one soldier and two *vaqueros* who knew a little about navigation. With these and her five sailors on board, the *San Carlos,* in the beginning of August, 1770, at last sailed away for San Blas. A few days after reaching that port, the good captain took sick and died. He was a native of Andalucía, and a pilot of the first class in the Spanish navy.[22]

Owing to the destruction of the San Diego registers during an Indian assault, which will be told later, nothing is known regarding the activity of the two Fathers in charge of the mission at this period. However, "prior to April, 1770," as Bancroft remarks, "a full year from the first coming of the Spaniards, and perhaps to a still later period, for the register was subsequently destroyed, and the earliest date is not known, not a single neophyte was enrolled at the mission. In all the missionary annals of the northwest there is no other instance where paganism remained so long so stubborn."[23] It is therefore, impossible to say when the first converts yielded to the kindly ministrations of the Gospel messengers, although Fr. Palóu writes that by March 12, 1771, "the mission already had some baptized neophytes."[24]

On this day, March 12, a noteworthy incident occurred. Ten Franciscans from Mexico landed at San Diego and

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[22] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 71-81; Bancroft, vol. i, p. 128.

[23] Bancroft, *California,* vol. i, p. 139.

[24] "Que ya tenia bautizados algunos neófitos,"—Palóu, *Vida,* p. 115.

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received a hearty welcome from Fathers Parrón and Gómez. These newcomers were Fr. Antonio Paterna, who acted as Superior of the missionary band until they reached their destination, and the Fathers Antonio Cruzado, Francisco Dumétz, Angel Somera, Miguel Pieras, Buenaventura Sitjar, Domingo Juncosa, José Cavaller, Luis Jayme, and Pedro Benito Cambon. Fathers Somera and Cambon had already served in the missions of Lower California. After the supplies for camp and mission were brought on shore, the Fathers again embarked on the *San Antonio* in order to report for duty to Fr. Presidente Serra at Monterey. Fr. Gómez, who had received permission to retire on account of ill health, also took passage, because he feared the ship might not return to San Diego and he would have to wait a year for another opportunity. By direction of Fr. Paterna, Fr. Dumetz for the present took his place at San Diego. This appointment was made permanent by Fr. Serra who, moreover, asked Fr. Jayme to replace Fr. Parrón, because the latter was likewise ill and hoped to recover his health in Lower California.

The *San Antonio* sailed from Monterey on July 7, 1771, having on board Pedro Fages, now Captain and Military Commander of Upper California. With him came Fathers Paterna and Cruzado, who were destined for Mission San Buenaventura, still to be founded; likewise, Fathers Somera and Cambon, who were to establish Mission San Gabriel; then, Fr. Gómez, who was returning to the College in Mexico; and Fr. Luis Jayme, who was appointed for Mission San Diego. After a week's sailing, on July 14, this distinguished company landed at San Diego. Soon after, Captain Rivera withdrew overland to the peninsula, Fr. Parrón probably accompanying him.[25]

Reporting to Viceroy De Croix on July 17, 1771, Fages wrote:

> I find that this Mission (of San Diego) has made a good beginning as regards temporary buildings and cultivation. Also the cattle,

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[25] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 84-86.

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which Captain Fernando Rivera left here when he departed, are in good condition. There are eighty-two cows, seven bulls, eight heifers of two years, and thirteen calves. I find also thirteen mules. There are only thirteen soldiers with the corporal, who, it seems to me, are necessary for the protection of the Mission.

A day later, July 18, Fages informed De Croix:

The drove of cattle from Lower California, besides sixty mules, guarded by twenty soldiers and five muleteers, have arrived. This will enable me to facilitate the founding of the Missions of San Gabriel and San Buenaventura. This I shall do at once, and distribute to each mission the requisite cattle and mules. Thus I shall leave them in a good state of defense.[26]

The *San Antonio* sailed for San Blas on July 21. Next day, nine soldiers and one muleteer deserted. Fr. Paterna was asked by Fages to reason with the men and to offer them a full pardon if they returned. The good Father overtook the deserters and persuaded them to go back. On the night of August 6, however, after Fathers Somera and Benito Cambon had set out for San Gabriel with ten soldiers and a mule train carrying the goods for the new mission, five soldiers and their corporal deserted from the camp. They returned on August 24, but only to steal some cattle from the mission. This enraged Fages and he resolved to follow them in person; but on discovering that the deserters had intrenched themselves and that they were determined to resist capture, the commander went back to San Diego and asked Fr. Dumetz to intervene; the missionary complied and succeeded in bringing back the deserters.

On October 3, Fr. Somera came down from the newly-established Mission of San Gabriel. He was accompanied by three guards, because experience had taught the Fathers not to venture alone on the road. The purpose of his visit was to obtain additional guards for his mission. Fages granted him two more, and with these, on October 9, Fr. Somera reached San Gabriel.[27]

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[26] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, p. 90; *Archivo General,* 66.

[27] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, p. 90; Palóu, *Noticias,* vol. ii, pp. 294-298.

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CHAPTER III.

Privation of Missionaries.—The Dearth of Provisions at All Missions.—Transports Arrive.—Governor Fages's Interference.—Fr. Serra Goes to Mexico.—Successful.—He Returns.—San Diego a Presidio.—Fr. Palóu and Other Fathers Arrive.—His Letter.—First Neophyte Woman Arrives from Lower California.—She Teaches Dressmaking.—Fr. Palóu Goes North.—The *Alabado*.—First Report.—The Mission.—The Indians.—The Presidio.—The Country.—Live Stock.—Fr. Serra's Report.—Removal of Mission Proposed.—Dispute.—Fr. Serra's *Representacion*.—Fr. Jaume's Letter.—Proposes Removal of Mission.—The New Mission.—Fr. Serra's Description.

IT may be truly said, as Fr. Palóu remarks, that from the beginning the two Fathers stationed at Mission San Diego had to "sustain themselves with the bread of affliction and the waters of distress."[1] Worldly inducements would never have sufficed to keep them at their post. Only utter unselfishness, heroic self-denial, and firm religious convictions, supported by supernatural grace, enabled them to persevere. Early in 1772, the deplorable conditions threatened the very abandonment of the undertaking inasmuch as it was a sheer impossibility to continue the work much longer. In order to stave off this disaster, Fr. Dumetz, with Fr. Cambon of San Gabriel, hastened to Lower California for supplies. By the middle of March, letters arrived at Monterey notifying Fr. Serra and Don Pedro Fages that the situation at San Diego was growing intolerable, as for a long time the two missionaries had been subsisting every day on half a pint of corn, twenty ounces of flour and a little milk. Such a state of affairs rendered the pagan Indians only more reluctant to accept the white man's Religion which, they argued, provided no better than their own for bodily needs. Fages immediately sent a train of pack-mules with 2,400 pounds of flour to San Diego and to San Gabriel, where also the dearth of provisions was

[1] III Kings, xxii, 27.

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felt. Fr. Serra directed Fr. Crespi to accompany the muleteers southward and to stay there until Fr. Dumetz should return from Lower California.

Writing to Fr. Palóu, under date of May 21, 1772, Fr. Crespi says: "I passed by way of San Gabriel Mission and found that the Fathers had tightened the cord around their waist. . . . At San Diego, I found very few victuals. There were only seven fanégas of corn and about two hundred pounds of flour. The guards for a long time maintained themselves with half a pint of corn and only twenty ounces of flour a day; the Fathers likewise, with a little milk. They say that thus they have passed most of the year, without lard, without tallow, without even a candle of this kind, and even without wine for the holy Masses, so that holy Mass is celebrated only on Sundays and on days of obligation. God grant that Fr. Dumetz arrive promptly with help for these missions and that the ships bring up supplies; otherwise, we are lost."

Finally, during the month of August, the supply ships, *San Carlos* and *San Antonio,* arrived in the harbor and thus put an end to the period of semi-starvation; but now the northern missions of San Luis Obispo, San Antonio, and San Carlos, where the lack of food had necessitated a general bear hunt, were threatened. On account of contrary winds, the two captains of the newly arrived ships refused to take the provisions to Monterey. They proposed that the supplies be taken up by pack mules, a distance of nearly five hundred miles! This it was that brought both Captain Fages and Fr. Serra to San Diego, on September 16, 1772. The Fr. Presidente at length persuaded Captain Pérez to brave the winds and not to impose superhuman burdens on the poor missionaries. Pérez, therefore, put to sea and reached Monterey without the least mishap. Meanwhile, Fr. Dumetz returned with additional provisions and a flock of sheep, the first, it seems, that came to Upper California. With him arrived Fr. Tomás de la Peña to replace Fr. Cambon at San Gabriel, who retired on account of ill health; but Fr. Serra sent Fathers Crespi and Dumetz

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to San Carlos and had Fr. Peña remain with Fr. Luis Jayme at Mission San Diego.[2]

While at San Diego, Fr. Presidente reminded Don Pedro Fages that the viceroy desired the founding of three more missions, and that the time had come for executing the orders of Don José de Gálvez, regarding Mission San Buenaventura, for which the Inspector-General himself had packed the requisite church goods more than three years before. To the Father's surprise, Fages, who ever since his promotion had conceived lofty ideas of his importance, curtly replied that such matters pertained to the commander of California and not to the missionaries. This was reversing things, generally; for, not the military commander, but Fr. Serra had been directed to found and to control the missionary establishments, while the soldiers were supposed to aid in the work as far as the missionaries should deem it expedient. In fact, the military commander had received instructions to that effect. At a council held by the four Fathers at the mission, it was decided that the Fr. Presidente proceed to Mexico and explain the situation to the viceroy; for Fages had on several occasions shown an inclination to interfere with the management of the missions. On October 20, 1772, Fr. Serra, taking along an Indian youth from Monterey, sailed away in the *San Carlos* and reached the College of San Fernando, Mexico, just in time to prevent the closing of the Port of San Blas. His errand was most successful, too, on the matters which he desired to lay before the viceroy. Asked to present his wishes in writing, Fr. Serra drew up his famous *Representacion,* in which under thirty-two heads he exposed the conditions in California. Almost everything he wished was granted. The chief point at issue, the independent management of the Indians at the missions, was likewise decided

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[2] Palóu, *Vida,* capp. xxx-xxxiii; *Noticias,* vol. iii, pp. 25-27; 31-32; Father Crespi, in *Out West,* January, 1902, pp. 56-57; see also *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 100-104.

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in his favor. It was declared that the missionaries had the right to control the mission Indians as a father controls his family. This decision alone amply rewarded the painful journey of the aged Fr. Presidente to Mexico. Highly favored by Viceroy Bucareli in other ways, Fr. Serra returned to San Diego on March 13, 1774, accompanied by the same Indian youth, who had received the Sacrament of Confirmation at the hands of the Archbishop of Mexico. He was the first of the Californians to be so favored. Fr. Pablo Mugártegui also came along; but being in ill health, he remained at the mission.[3]

While in Mexico, Fr. Serra had offered some propositions to the viceroy, touching the military system of California. Accordingly, on July 23, 1773, the latter approved a new reglamento, which went into effect on January 1, 1774. Thereafter, the military department of Upper California was to consist of the presidios of Monterey and of San Diego. The commander of the garrison at Monterey, with the rank of captain and a salary of $3000, was to have command over all the troops in Upper California. The military camp at San Diego, now promoted to the rank of a presidio, comprised a lieutenant with a salary of $700 a year; one sergeant at $450; two corporals at $400 each; twenty-two soldiers at $365 each; two carpenters to serve the presidio and the mission at $300 each; two blacksmiths for the same purpose at $300 each; and a storekeeper at $1000 a year. In addition, five corporals at a salary of $400 each and twenty-five soldiers at a salary of $365 each guarded the five missions thus far established. Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, then in Lower California, was appointed to succeed Fages and to reside at Monterey. Sergeant José Francisco de Ortega, then also in Lower California, was named commander of the new presidio at San Diego with the rank of lieutenant. Don Rafael Pedro Gil received the appointment of storekeeper.[4]

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[3] For details see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 104-121.

[4] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 121-122; 132.

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In the meantime, after delivering the missions of Lower California to the Dominican Fathers, Fr. Francisco Palóu, on August 30, 1773, arrived at San Diego together with Fathers Gregório Amúrrio, Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, Juan Prestamero, Vicente Fuster, and José Antonio Murguía. They were escorted by a guard in command of the new lieutenant, Francisco de Ortega. The newcomers were welcomed with demonstrations of the greatest joy, the soldiers discharging firearms and artillery, and the guards responding in kind. "The neophyte Indians,"[5] Fr. Palóu writes, "greeted us with their sweet canticles in praise of our God whom but a short time before they had not known."

In the absence of Fr. Serra, who was still at the capital of Mexico, Fr. Palóu assumed the duties of presidente or superior of the missions. Fr. Peña, who had assisted Fr. Jayme temporarily, desired to be transferred; he was, therefore, replaced by Fr. Fuster. For the present, Fr. Amúrrio remained at San Diego as supernumerary.

While detained at this mission, where he was awaiting the train of pack mules, which he had asked Captain Fages to dispatch from Monterey to fetch the supplies and church goods at Velicatá, Fr. Palóu writes: "We searched for land better suited for cultivation. Not finding any that could be sufficiently irrigated, owing to the scarcity of running water, it was determined as the best way out of the difficulty, in order that the mission could subsist, to sow the wheat and trust to rain; and for that purpose a locality was selected in the same valley of the San Diego on the banks of the river, though out of danger from the floods, about two leagues from the mission; for it had been noted that in said locality the rains begin earlier and last longer than at the mission. Furthermore, in case of lack of rains, water could be drawn with little labor from the river. Hence the Fathers immediately commenced to prepare the land there for sowing grain. The place was named Nuestra

[5] Eighty-three Indians had been baptized by this time.

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Señora del Pilár." It is identical with the site of the present mission ruin.

On the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, September 8, then a day of obligation, Fr. Palóu sang the High Mass, and afterwards had the happiness of baptizing eight convert Indians. A few days later, Fr. Murguía baptized seven more. They all belonged to the Ranchería of Rincón, about half a league from the mission on the road to Monterey.

September 19, eighty-two pack mules, some of which belonged to the missions of San Carlos, San Antonio, and San Luis Obispo, arrived from Monterey, and, three days later, on September 22, they were sent down to Velicatá in charge of Sergeant Ortega and guards.[6]

Before setting out for the north, Fr. Palóu wrote in his journal: "Inasmuch as this mission already had some convert Indians doing work, I assigned to it only one of the six neophyte families that had come from Lower California, in order that the woman might teach these female Indians how to spin and weave the wool which was already being gained from the sheep that the mission possessed."[7] It will be remembered that discoverers generally described the Indian females as wearing very scanty dress, hardly more than an apron of fibres. In such a state they could not be permitted to enter the church or to approach the missionaries. Since no tailor or dressmaker was available, the poor friars, being all to all, had to show the uncouth creatures how to make the simple skirt and waist that would admit them to decent society. No doubt, many a misfit resulted; but that did not trouble the dusky ladies. The main thing was to be modestly covered. With the advent of this neophyte woman, however, the first in Upper California, as far as is known, the Fathers had no longer to worry on this score.

On September 26, Fr. Palóu with the rest of the Fathers

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[6] Palóu, *Noticias*, vol. i, pp. 264-265.

[7] Palóu, *Noticias*, vol. i, pp. 257, 261.

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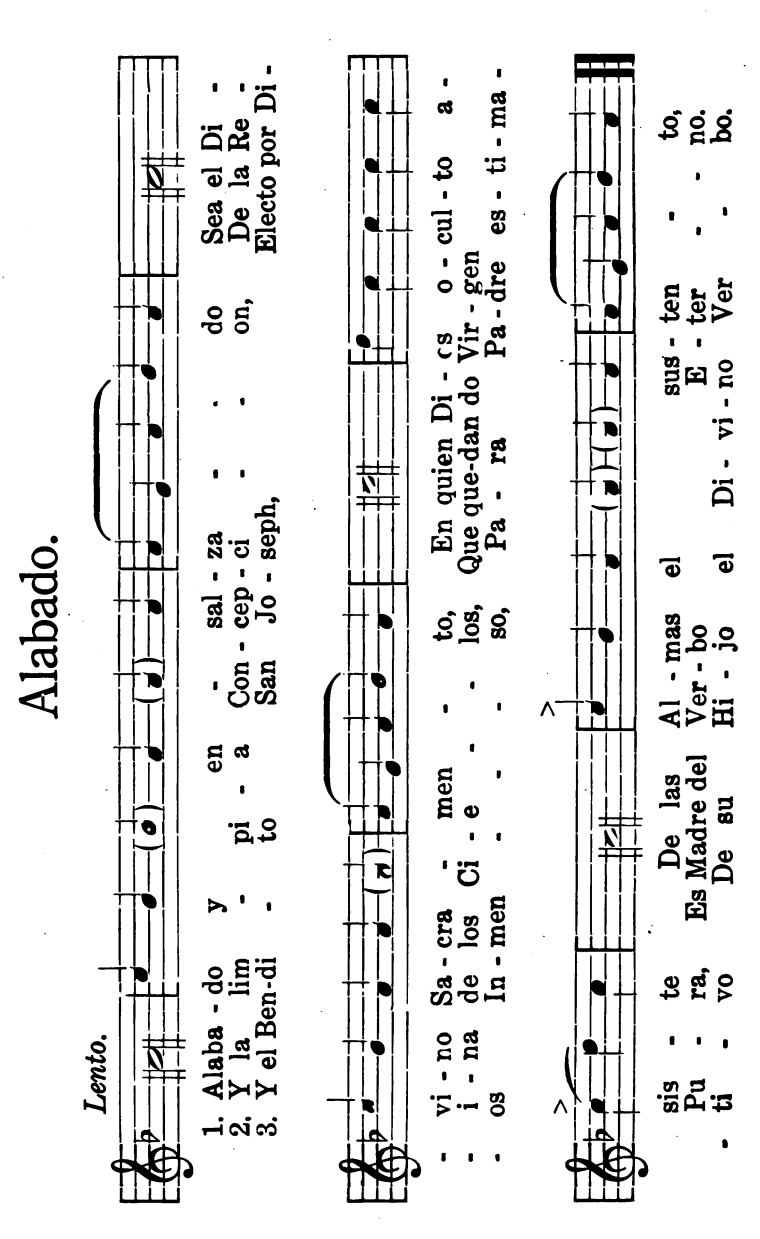

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and five Christian Indian families departed for the north. At the Ranchería de Rincón, the fifteen converts, whom Fathers Palóu and Murguía had baptized at the mission, saluted them in a manner that brought tears to the eyes of the traveling religious. "Kneeling down in the road," Fr. Palóu tells us, "these poor Indians, who till a few days before had been savages, knowing nothing about God, now as children of the Church of God were singing the *Alabado!* We rewarded them with a sack of pinole (ground corn) and some Rosarybeads." [8]

At an early date, annual reports on the state of the missions were demanded by the viceroy and earnestly solicited by the Fr. Guardian of the College of San Fernando. "In obedience to this command," writes Fr. Palóu, "as soon as I reached the first mission, San Diego, I informed myself on the spiritual and temporal affairs, taking note of everything, so as later to draw up a true and complete report. This same care I exercised at all the missions, and when I arrived at San Carlos de Monterey, on November 14, 1773, I made from my notes the account which I dispatched by way of Lower California to the Guardian of my College, together with a letter dated December 10, which his Reverence was to deliver to his Excellency, the viceroy. Inasmuch as in the said report the state of each mission is described, I copy it here. It makes an adequate and complete picture." [9]

Such is the introduction to the most valuable first report made in California on the state of the missions. Regarding San Diego, Fr. Palóu informs the viceroy:

This mission was founded on July 16, 1769. It is situated on a high elevation (*loma* or bluff) about two gunshots from the beach (*playa*), looking toward Point Guijarros and the mouth of the port

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[8] Palóu, *Noticias*, vol. i, p. 266; see also *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, p. 128.—*Alabado*, i. e. Canticle of Praise, a kind of doxology. The words are, "Alabado sea el Santisimo Sacramento del Altar; y Bendita sea la Purisima Concepcion de la Beatisima Virgen Maria."

[9] Palóu, *Informe*, December 10, 1773, (S. B. A.). See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. i, p. 420; vol. ii, pp. 137-139.

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named San Diego, which is in thirty-two degrees and forty-two minutes north latitude. The beach, as also the vicinity of the mission, is well peopled by savages, since within a district of ten leagues there are more than twenty large rancherías, and one other adjoining the mission.

In the beginning, the Indians of this port showed themselves very haughty and arrogant, even daring to assault the camp when they noticed it left with only a small number of soldiers, the majority of whom were ill at the time when the expedition (Portola's) started out in search of Monterey Port; but they retired having learnt a good lesson when three or four of their number remained dead from gun-shots and many more were wounded, whereas only one servant of the camp and mission was killed, while two men were wounded, one of whom was a missionary at the mission; but their wounds are not dangerous. This frightened the Indians and for a long time they would not approach the camp and mission. However, by degrees, they came to join the mission, so that already eighty-three adults and children are baptized, seven of whom died recently, while twelve couples were married and are now living in the village composed of dwellings that are made of poles and tules. With them live also the catechumens, who assist punctually every day at the catechism. The pagans of other rancherías also frequent the mission and are present at the doctrina or catechism, attracted by their fondness for hearing the neophytes sing.[10]

Within the stockade is the church or chapel, constructed of poles and roofed with tules, as also the habitation of the two missionaries, having the requisite rooms partly of adobe and partly of wood and roofed with tules.

Likewise, within the stockade, is a similar structure (*jacal*) that serves as the barracks for the soldier guards and as a storehouse for the supplies. For defensive purposes, within the stockade, are two cannon of bronze. One looks toward the port, and the other toward the Indian ranchería. On one side of the stockade, in the wall, is an opening for the foundations of a church thirty yards (*varas*) long. For this some stones and four thousand adobes have already been prepared. The foremen of the work are the Fathers, and the workmen are the neophytes, who labor with pleasure. The work has now stopped for want of provisions; the neophytes saw themselves obliged to retire in search of wild fruits, until the ship arrives.

As this mission lacks water for irrigating the extensive and fertile land which it possesses, the inmates must suffer want, unless the crops turn out well. The first two years have proved this. In the first year, the river rose so high (though it has running water near the

[10] "Assisten (los gentiles) á la doctrina llevados de la aficion de oir cantar á los neofitos."

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mission only in the rainy season), that it carried away all that had been sown. In the second year, planting was done farther back of the stream. During the greater part of that season, however, the water was scarce so that the plants perished. Only five fanégas [11] of wheat were secured, and these were used for sowing in the locality about two leagues from the mission; because from experience it was learned that in said place rain was more frequent. The country has been surveyed for a distance of ten leagues in every direction; but no running water for irrigation has been discovered. Only for the live stock is there in various places sufficient water and abundant pasture.

The savages subsist on the seeds of the *zacate* (wild grass) which they harvest in due season. From these they make sheaves as is the custom to do with wheat. They also live by fishing and by hunting hares and rabbits which are plentiful. The Missionary Fathers have sent to San Blas for a canoe and a net so that the new Christians might subsist on fish. If this succeeds, it will, no doubt, be a great relief.

Of the cattle which came for these new missions from Lower California by order of Inspector-General José de Gálvez, this mission was allowed eighteen head, large and small. In the beginning of last October it had forty head. It then owned also seventy-four head of sheep, fifty-five goats, nineteen pigs, fifteen mares, four fillies, one colt, eight tame horses, one jackass, six donkeys, four riding mules, and eighteen pack mules with the necessary outfit.

The mission possesses twelve plowshares and other iron implements. There is also a sufficient supply of tools for carpenters and for masons, and a forge for the blacksmith, although there are no mechanics to teach these crafts.[12]

The report which Fr. Serra made for the viceroy in Mexico on May 21, 1773, agrees with the preceding account of Fr. Palóu. "In spiritual matters," he adds, "this mission, being the first and oldest, is the most advanced, inasmuch as it has the greater number of Christians. In this respect, I have to say that the entire ranchería, which made war on us on the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, in 1769, is already Christian, with the exception of a few old people who, owing to their greater dullness, were still in the catechumen class when I left the mission. They do not fail, however, to be present at the prayers. Likewise,

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[11] A fanéga is equal to one hundredweight.

[12] Palóu, *Noticias*, vol. iii, pp. 227-232. The original manuscript is preserved in the *Santa Barbara Archives*.

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of the other distant rancherías some are baptized. They have their habitations immediately outside the stockade of the mission." [13]

Fr. Serra, accompanied by Fr. Pablo Mugártegui, returned from Mexico and arrived at San Diego, Saturday, March 13, 1774, on board the *Santiago*. Both Fathers were heartily welcomed at presidio and mission. On April 6, the Fr. Presidente started for Monterey overland, leaving Fr. Mugártegui ill at the mission. On account of an obstinate stomach trouble, Fr. Prestamero embarked for Mexico on the *San Antonio,* which sailed August 4. In May, after delivering the office of military commander to Rivera at Monterey, Pedro Fages came down to San Diego by land and, on July 19, 1774, he took passage on the *Santiago*.[14]

As the locality in which Mission San Diego had been originally founded with the military camp close by, had proved undesirable on account of the lack of water for irrigating, the plan to transfer it to a more suitable district was discussed at an early date. "The first proposition toward a change of site came early in 1773 from Fages, who favored a removal of the ranchería containing all the neophytes as well as many gentiles from the vicinity of the stockade. . . . The measure was recommended by a man whose approval was enough to condemn it in Serra's eyes. Consequently he opposed the change most strenuously in his report to the viceroy." [15] This statement of Bancroft is a gross misrepresentation. Neither did Fr. Serra, as will be seen presently, object to the removal of the entire mission, i. e. of the mission together with the missionaries, nor, as will also be seen, was Fages the first to propose the measure. What this official wanted was the removal of the Indians, but not of the mission; and it was this withdrawal

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[13] Serra, *Representacion,* May 21, 1773, preserved in *Santa Barbara Archives.*

[14] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, p. 133.

[15] Bancroft, *California,* vol. i, p. 229.

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of the convert Indians from the immediate supervision of the Fathers, quite another thing, that Fr. Serra boldly set his face against. But Bancroft will have his customary fling at Fr. Serra. Let us hear the Fr. Presidente himself.

"As I had not seen the mission since its first beginning," he declares in his *Representacion*, "I greatly rejoiced at sight of such a number of Christians. . . . The officer (Pedro Fages), however, came to me with a deep frown, in order to criticize the Fathers for having baptized so many; for that was not to have been done until the missionaries had raised some crops. Doubtless, it vexed him that we had not asked him for provisions on their behalf. So insignificant did the whole settlement of Christians appear to him, that the Fathers obtained not as much as a spoonful of *pozole* or *atole*[16] from the two well-loaded ships in the harbor. Hence, too, his claim that all the little huts of those Christians and of the catechumens would have to be removed from there, and that the neophytes would have to live farther away because, as he alleged, in their present shelters they might become formidable enemies and wage war on the presidio. I strongly opposed this arrangement, as I have already informed Your Excellency in my letter of March 13. Thereupon, the said official, concluded that the ranchería or mission should not be removed, but that he would report my resistance. I earnestly supplicate Your Excellency, if such a report has been made, to let me know of it and to hear my side before I depart. . . .

"For the present, I say only that no one who has seen the huts and their surroundings, heard the officer's reasons for wanting to remove the huts without laughing, except myself, because I did not feel like laughing when I saw efforts made to destroy for the sake of a mere whim what the Fathers had put up with so much labor, and what all contemplate with such pleasure. . . . How the friars

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[16] Gruel or porridge. See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 254; 554-555.

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have labored and are still laboring God knows and that suffices." [17]

It was, as we said before, Fr. Luis Jayme who in a letter formally proposed to Fr. Serra the removal of the entire mission, converts and missionaries, to another site. His reason was two-fold, the scarcity of water and the proximity of the military camp. It is clear, too, that he had already before discussed this plan with the Fr. Presidente. Because this letter addressed to Fr. Serra, who was then in Mexico, contains so much of interest, and because it is the first and only document extant of California's protomartyr, it deserves to be reproduced entire.

Viva Jesus, Maria y Joseph!

Very Rev. Father Presidente Junípero Serra:—The Grace of the Holy Spirit be with Your Reverence and with me. Amen.

On the second of this month (of April), the mail reached here from Monterey and informed us of the safe arrival of the *Principe* (*San Antonio*). It seems that things have adjusted themselves well. The more Indians come here, the more humble they show themselves. The pagans give more signs of a desire to be baptized. A few days ago, all the boys from the Ranchería of Rincón came to learn the doctrina in order to have themselves baptized; but, as we could not give them *atole* every time they appeared, the quantity of corn being already very small, they stopped coming. If the supply ship delays a little longer there will be scarcely enough for the Christian Indians who are with us from Lower California. Hence we see that, if we can harvest a little wheat from what has been sown, we shall be able to baptize those who apply. We have sown about five fanégas of wheat. It rose well and prospered, until the month of January; after that, the water failed, so that almost everything withered. In the month of March, it rained on two occasions; consequently, a part of our sowing recovered and now stands fairly well; but hopes of harvesting anything are very small; for, if it does not rain much in this month and in May, nothing may be harvested, since this year there is a great lack of water.

Some days ago, savages informed us that on the other side of the sierras, which extend toward the northeast beyond this cañada of San Diego, there is an abundance of pine timber, of live oak, and of a certain very tall timber which we could not classify from what was

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[17] "El como han trabajado los Religiosos, y trabajan, lo sabe Dios, y esto nos basta." Serra, at close of *Representacion*.

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said; and that, besides much grass or hay, water must be plentiful there and flowing all the time. The other day, the soldier who came from Monterey with the mail told me that he had been there and that he had seen much pine timber, an abundance of live oak, and many stretches of land not mixed with alkali or saltpetre. He had seen also a large arroyo which ran with water all the year round. For a mission, he said, are many suitable places, as beautiful as he had ever seen; nothing was wanting, rather was there an abundance of everything necessary for a mission. Some places, he said, may be as much as six or seven leagues or even more in extent. The language of the savages in these places is the same as here, and they have communication with our Indians. Indeed, about fifteen days ago, Indians from there told our neophytes that they should accompany the missionaries and bring enough mules along, in order to load them with acorns, since they had enough to spare. We told them we would go there when warm weather sets in. In fact, we have determined to go and survey the place when it grows warmer. All this is said on the authority of the soldier who had seen the place and told us; we have not seen it, because we had no opportunity.

We were thinking whether this mission could not be moved, while the presidio remained here, and whether storehouses could not be erected here to receive the goods for the missions. One Father could stay here to administer the Sacraments and to receive the supplies. Should no presidio be planted here, some soldiers could stay, in order to guard the port and the ship when it arrives. In case the presidio remains here, however, it is not expedient that it be near the mission, on account of annoyances of which Your Reverence is aware.

We tell you this because it seems that as long as the mission is here, it will never have a firm basis. Nor should there be a mission here, on account of the scarcity of water; for we see that this year there are little hopes for wheat. Even if it rains, the harvest will be very small and very poor, owing to the dry season through which we have passed. Last year the flood carried away what was growing. If, by the month of May, it does not rain, nothing may be harvested; for already it is beginning to wither. In the previous year it began to rain in the middle of February, as the soldiers told me who were here; but February is too late for sowing wheat, and when the time comes for planting the corn, there is no rain.

In the year of the expedition, as the soldiers relate, the arroyo had no water; nor did it rain. The arroyo has no running water save when it rains; for, if the rain delays fifteen or twenty days, it runs dry, as happened this year and in the past year. So, when both, the season and the river, fail, the crops must needs be very poor, and without harvests, I do not see how the mission can exist. Hence, Your Reverence will see what is most expedient and what can be proposed. Also to Fathers Uson and Figuer, who have come up from Lower

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California, it seems that if the mission stays here, the prospects will be poor; and it will be a constant source of affliction for the Fathers who are stationed here. We are daily awaiting the arrival of Fr. Presidente Palóu and of the other Fathers who are to come here. We do not know whether or not they are on the way. We pray God to keep you in His holy love and grace. Mission San Diego, April 3, 1773. B. L. M. de V. R., your ever affectionate friend and humble subject. Fr. Luis Jayme. (Rubrica.) [18]

In the end, the viceroy authorized the transfer of the mission to another site. In his first report of the missions for the year 1774, Fr. Serra says: "It was determined to move the mission within the same *cañada* of the port toward the northeast from the presidio, at a distance of a little less than two leagues. This place is much more suitable for a population, on account of the facility of obtaining the necessary water and on account of the vicinity of good land for cultivation. The place is called Nipaguay. The change was effected in the month of August of the same year. We gladly take notice of the many new Christians who have followed the Fathers to the new place, doubtless recognizing its advantages. On the new site, they have constructed, by the month of December, 1774, the following buildings:

1. A church of poles and roofed with tules. It measures six by nineteen varas (17 by 53 feet).
2. One house, twenty varas long and four varas wide (56 by 12 feet), of adobes, but roofed with tules. It is divided into living rooms for the Fathers.
3. Another house, thirteen varas long and five varas wide (36 by 14 feet), of adobes, with a flat roof, to be used as a granary.
4. Another building of palisades and roofed with tules. It is five varas long and four varas wide (14 by 11 feet), to be occupied by muleteers and shepherds.

[18] Copied for the writer from the original at the Museo Nacional, Mexico, by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, University of California. From this it is clear that the Father spelled his name *Jayme*. Fr. Serra and Fr. Fuster wrote it *Jaume*. Fr. Palóu always writes *Jayme*.

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5. A house of adobe with flat roof, five varas long and four varas wide (14 by 11 feet), to be used as a smithy.

6. A structure of poles and tules for the servants. It is six varas long and three varas wide (17 by 9 feet).

7. Thirteen habitations of the same character, to be used as living rooms by the Indians.

8. A corral of the same material for mares and horses in a place called Rancho de San Luis, at a distance of one league from the new mission.

Finally, new land has been prepared for sowing about seven fanegas of wheat."

In his report, Fr. Serra enumerates also the additions to the various departments of the missions as follows:

Church and Vestry—"A lavatory of copper, two surplices, four cinctures, for the sacristy; one set of the Way of the Cross with pictures, for the church."

House and Field—After enumerating various house utensils and farm implements, Fr. Serra continues, "In addition to all this, the mission has received donations from His Excellency, which he deigned to send in the shape of all kinds of provisions, that is to say, flour, corn, beans, hams, vegetables, beads, clothing for the Indians, etc., all of which are not entered in the memorias.[19] Nor are the articles named which our College sent to the missions and to this one in particular, which amount to much more than the stipends allowed the missionaries. 'In future,' the Fr. Guardian writes, 'we shall receive the list of goods in keeping with the amount of the stipend, and more than that should not be asked for.' ".

Live stock—"There are fifty-four head of cattle, large and small; one hundred and four head of sheep; sixty-one goats; twenty-two riding and pack mules; nine tame horses; fifteen mares; eleven colts and fillies; two male and one female mule; and twenty-seven pigs, large and small.

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[19] A *memoria* was an invoice, i. e., a list of goods purchased in Mexico and shipped to the missions at the request and expense of the Fathers.

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Agriculture—"In the past year, they sowed seven fanégas of wheat, but harvested only thirty, owing to the scarcity of water, irrigation not having been established as yet.

Families and Individuals—"From the founding of the mission to December 31, 1774, there have been baptized one hundred and six persons, adults and children. Nineteen have died, and thus there remain at the mission ninety-seven persons, all living in the mission within sound of the bell. There have been celebrated nineteen marriages, that is to say, seventeen neophyte males with neophyte females, and two with Indians from Lower California. Thus the mission consists of nineteen families with ninety-seven Indian souls, according to the reports of the missionaries." [20]

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[20] Serra, *Informe,* February 5, 1775. *Santa Barbara Archives.*

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CHAPTER IV.

Dark Days Approaching.—Fr. Palóu's Account.—Conspiracy.—Mission Attacked and Fired.—The Battle.—Casualties.—Fr. Jayme Murdered.—Fr. Fuster's Heroism.—Bravery of the Soldiers.—A Vow.—Neglectful Sentinels.—Body of Fr. Jayme Discovered.—Burial at Presidio.—Fr. Serra and Captain Rivera Notified.—Fr. Serra Pleads with Viceroy for the Conspirators.—Captain J. B. Anza.—Account of the Disaster by Fr. Pedro Font, O. F. M.—Anza and Fr. Font Depart.—Indian Takes Refuge in Church.—Rivera Drags Indian from Church.—The Fathers Protest.—Rivera Declared Excommunicated.—Church Asylum.—Fr. Serra at San Diego.—Noble Captain Choquet.—Rebuilding of the Mission Begun.—Rivera's Duplicity.—Choquet Indignant.—Gloom.—Letter from Viceroy Bucareli.—Fr. Serra Happy.—Mission Restored.—Indian Revolters Released.

ON its new site, the mission seems to have thrived uncommonly well, in fact, so well that, as the Fathers eventually concluded, it roused the anger of mankind's enemy, who presumed to have a mortgage, as it were, on the souls of the Indians. Only too early did the dark days of tribulation steal upon the happy patriarchal family. We shall let Fr. Palóu relate his

"Account of the Cruel Martyrdom of the
Venerable Fr. Luis Jayme, and of
the Lamentable Tragedy at
Mission San Diego.

"In the month of November, 1775, the missionaries stationed at Mission San Diego were Fr. Luis Jayme, formerly lector of philosophy in the Franciscan Province of Mayorca, and Fr. Vicente Fuster, a member of the Province of Aragón. Both observed with delight the spiritual fruit so abundantly gathered in that vineyard of the Lord. That same year, on October 3, the eve of our Seraphic Father St. Francis, they had baptized as many as sixty convert Indians who, with the many already baptized, formed a good-sized settlement, which lay in the valley of the same

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name, two leagues distant from the presidio. They had moved the mission to this place about one year before in order to cultivate corn and wheat for the maintenance of the new establishment, and in order to convert the gentiles. In this, their efforts had been unsuccessful on the original mission site adjoining the garrison.

"Undoubtedly, the jealous archenemy realized that in this territory paganism was doomed; that the missionaries by their whole-souled energy and apostolic zeal were weakening his stronghold and were little by little banishing heathenism from the vicinity of the port of San Diego. Accordingly, he planned an attack on this spiritual conquest, and God in His inscrutable judgments permitted Satan to revenge himself upon those who had snatched so many souls from his infernal clutches. Malice, of course, led Satan to incite a few new Christians, not as yet grounded in the Faith, to rise in rebellion for the purpose of putting an end to the mission and of taking the lives of the missionaries as well as of the soldiers who guarded and defended them. Shortly after the feast of our Seraphic Father St. Francis, on whose vigil, as I said, sixty Indians had received Baptism, two Indians, who had been Christians a long time, apostatized and fled from the mission. The Fathers knew neither the cause nor the motive. A few days after they had been missed, the sergeant of the presidio with a party of soldiers went in search of the deserters. He was unable to find them; but he learned that many Indians had gone to the sierra between San Diego and the Colorado River. The reason for this exodus he could not ascertain. What he did discover, however, was that the two apostates were going from ranchería to ranchería, exhorting the pagans to put an end to the mission and the presidio. In the councils they declared that they wanted to kill the soldiers because these defended the Fathers, and that they wanted to kill the missionaries because these intended to abolish paganism by converting all to Christianity. This is what one of the malefactors confessed to Comandante Fernando Rivera, from whose lips I heard it, and

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which was proved at the subsequent investigations. Some of the rancherías declined to co-operate, but the majority conspired and resolved that the assault should be made at night against the presidio and the mission simultaneously.

"The conspirators, numbering about eight hundred and well armed with arrows and war clubs, fell upon the mission at about one o'clock in the night of November 4, 1775. Another party proceeded to attack the presidio, since they had agreed to charge both places at the same time. The mission was not to be fired until it was thought that the other party had reached the presidio, and here the fire was to be started when it was seen at the mission. These diabolical schemes were so little suspected at either the presidio or the mission that all went to sleep, the Fathers as well as the soldiers. What was worse, the sentinels, too, gave themselves up to sleep, as can be inferred from all the letters that have come from San Diego. From these I compile the following account:

"At about one o'clock in the night," Fr. Palóu continues, "that part of the savage mob arrived which was to attack the poor mission. Some of these Indians stationed themselves at the doors of the huts of the Christians in the village in order to prevent them from sounding the alarm or taking up arms, threatening with death whoever should leave his habitation. The others went to the vestry to rob the vestments and whatever they might discover of use to themselves. Finding the chests locked, they broke them open with stones and stole everything they wanted. From the sacristy they passed on to the soldiers' quarters, which stood somewhat apart. Here they found a fire burning; but all, even the sentinels, were sleeping so soundly that the racket caused by breaking open the wardrobes in the vestry had not been sufficient to rouse them. When the savages noticed this, one of their number took a brand from the fire and with it set fire to different parts outside. That awakened the two missionaries, who were sleeping in separate apartments, as also the soldiers of the guard. Of

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these there were only three besides the corporal,[1] since one had gone to the new foundation of San Juan Capistrano, and another, having gone three days before to the presidio on account of ill health, had not been replaced. Besides those mentioned, there were in another quarter the blacksmith and two carpenters, one from the presidio, who was ill, and one who belonged to the mission. In another building were two youths, the son and the nephew of the presidio lieutenant. Against this small number of persons stood united a formidable army, but so cowardly as to choose the most unexpected hour of the night.

"When Fr. Vicente awoke and saw the buildings on fire, he hastened to the barracks where the soldiers had already begun to discharge their muskets. The two boys likewise took refuge under the protection of the soldiers. The blacksmith was about to leave his room when he was so badly wounded that he died soon after. The carpenter of the mission seized a gun which he had in readiness, shot one of the Indians, and escaped to the soldiers' quarters during the subsequent turmoil. The other carpenter, Ursulino by name, who was ill, received a mortal wound; he lived to the fifth day, however, during which time he was prepared for death; and we piously believe that he went to enjoy God, inasmuch as he gave such good proof of being well disposed; for, when pierced with the arrow that caused his death, he said only these words: 'Ha, Indian, you have killed me. God forgive you!' He persevered in these dispositions, forgiving him who had inflicted the wound. More than that; when he made his will, presuming there was no needy relative, he bequeathed all that was coming to him from the general store, and that was quite a considerable amount, to the Indians of Mission San Diego. An heroic act, worthy of a true disciple of Jesus Christ!

"Fr. Luis Jayme, who awoke at the same time as his

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[1] The names, according to Bancroft, i, 250, were Alejo Antonio González, Juan Alvarez, Joaquin Armenta, and Corporal Juan Estevan Rocha.

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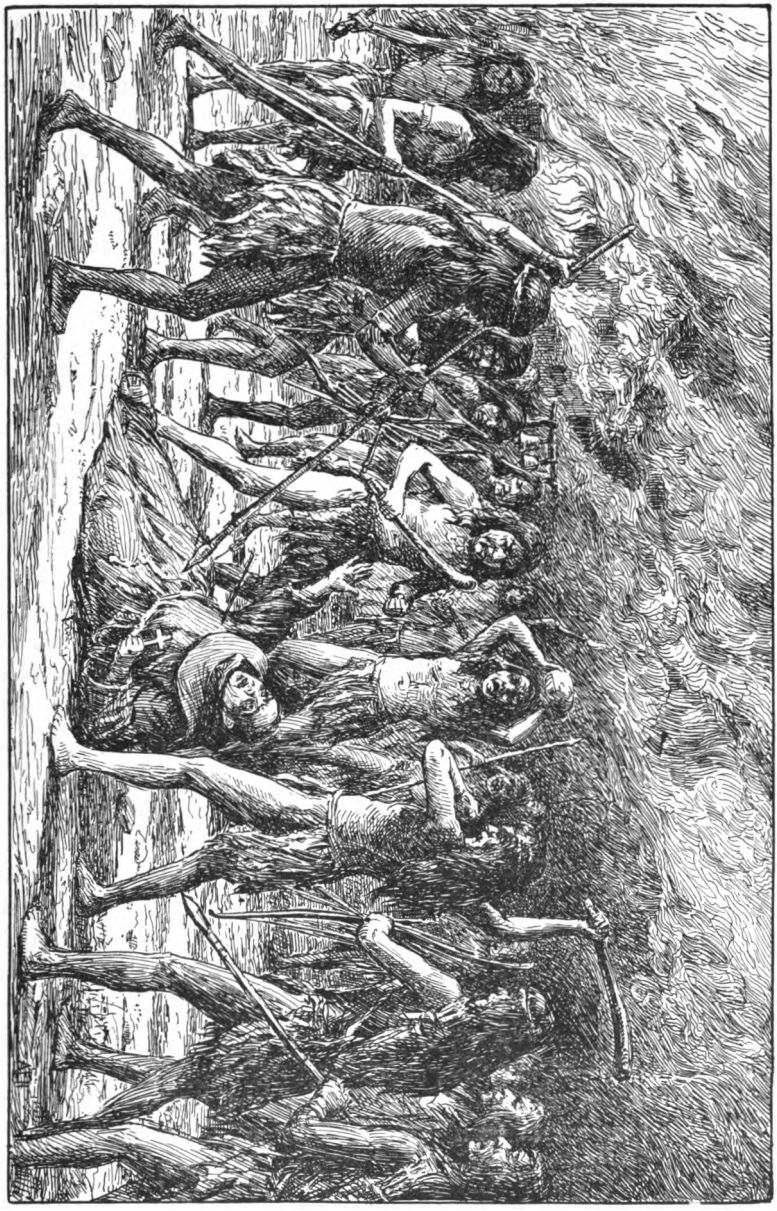

FR. LUIS JAYME MURDERED BY SAVAGES

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companion, Father Vicente, did not seek the soldiers' quarters, but went to where a crowd of savages were standing. On coming near enough, he greeted them with his customary salutation, 'Love God, my children!—Amar á Dios, hijos!' In return, however, they seized him and dragged him outside the mission to the bed of the river. Here, having stripped him to the trunks, they began to shoot innumerable arrows into his body and to beat him with clubs until life was extinct. When discovered next day, there was not a sound spot on his body, save the consecrated hands. These God had preserved (as we must piously believe and infer from the Father's godly and exemplary conduct), in order that it might be known how zealously and nobly he had labored for the Indians who should repay him with such cruelty, and how he had toiled for the purpose of saving their souls and rescuing them from the gates of hell. Nor do we doubt that he shed his blood willingly, in order to irrigate that vineyard of the Lord which he had cultivated amid such hardships and which, because of such copious irrigation, will yield fruit in season by converting the remainder of the pagans who as yet persist in their wild life. This we hope from the Lord through the intercession of the venerable deceased, whose soul I do not doubt is now enjoying God.

"While some of the savages were martyring the venerable deceased, the rest craved to do the same to the other Father in the soldiers' barracks, which like the other structures was already on fire. In order to massacre all, as they had resolved, the savages kept on discharging arrows and throwing clubs. One of the soldiers, who wore no leather jacket, was in fact struck by an arrow and disabled; but the other three did their best and succeeded in killing some of the savages and wounding others. The fire raging in every direction was already becoming intolerable. In order not to roast to death, the soldiers determined to move to a little adobe structure, three walls of which had the height of a man, and which the cook had covered with boughs as a protection against the sun. This place

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they reached at imminent peril from a shower of arrows. Shooting through the cracks and openings in the walls, the soldiers wounded every savage that came within sight. No sooner, however, had the Indians noticed this than they threw firebrands on the branches that served as a roof. Fortunately, there were but few branches, so that little harm was done the persons who had taken refuge there. What molested them seriously were the darts, clubs, and fire-brands which the Indians threw into the side that was open. To deliver themselves from this danger, the soldiers resolved to fetch from the burning buildings some bundles and boxes with which to erect a kind of parapet. Although in this bold attempt another soldier was disabled by the arrows of the enemies, the men succeeded in constructing the low barricade behind which they were protected when discharging their muskets. Though shielded now on all sides against the arrows, the defenders were not secure against the firebrands, sticks, and the lumps of adobe, which the savages threw over the walls; still, these did little harm. In this situation, the heroic defenders continued until the powder began to give out. In one of the burning houses, the mission had a quantity of powder which it used to discharge the guns on great festival occasions. It was preserved in a box which, through the interposition of the Lord, had not yet been reached by the fire. They succeeded in getting it; and with it the men continued the defense until the dawn of day, when the enemies retired, taking along their dead and wounded."

In his *Nota Previa* to the Death Register of Mission San Diego, Fr. Fuster unhesitatingly attributes the preservation of the survivors under the desperate circumstances just related to the interposition of the heavenly Queen. "We were thus protected against the arrows," he writes, "although not against the fiery darts and stones that rained down on us and thus put us all in the greatest peril, on account of a bag of about fifty pounds of powder which we had

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there.[2] Seeing ourselves so endangered in this exposed place, we turned to the Most Pure Queen of the Angels; we vowed to fast on nine Saturdays, each promising to have a holy Mass celebrated, and I on my part promised a novena of holy Masses in her honor. In this way we maintained ourselves till daybreak; and all this while we experienced the evident aid of the Blessed Queen in this place. For although the enemies were only fourteen paces away from us, and our only protection were low adobe walls, not one of the arrows nor even of the stones as much as touched us."

"Meanwhile," Fr. Palóu continues, "the second band of savages had proceeded to the garrison; but before reaching it, they stopped because those who were to assault the mission had in their haste set fire to its buildings when the others were yet at a distance from the presidio. From the road they saw the conflagration at the mission; but they dared not approach the garrison, since they presumed that the fire must have been seen there. Hence, they hastened back to join the other savages at the mission, in order to help them in case, as they expected, relief should come from the presidio soldiers. At the military post, however, they were as careless as the guards at the mission. They did not learn what had happened till the morning of November 5, when they were notified by the Lower California Indian whom, on the withdrawal of the enemies, Fr. Vicente had despatched to them. Without doubt, the sentinel had been sleeping, since he neither had seen the great fire, although from the presidio the mission buildings are visible, nor had even heard the gunshots so often breaking the silence of the night, although at the mission one could hear the salute which was fired every morning at the presidio.

"After daybreak, on November 5, when the savages had disappeared, the Christians came forth from their ran-

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[2] In his *Vida* (chap. 40), Fr. Palóu relates that Fr. Fuster covered the bag of powder with the skirt of his habit.

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chería. They went to Fr. Vicente who was with the wounded soldiers and with tears in their eyes related how the pagans had threatened them with death if they would leave their habitations. Then Fr. Vicente immediately sent an Indian to the presidio to report what had happened. Others were despatched in search of Fr. Luis. Fr. Vicente was much worried on his account, as he knew nothing about his companion; the whole building was already ablaze when he fled to the barracks. Not finding Fr. Luis with the soldiers, he again left the barracks at the peril of his life to look for him in his apartment. Failing to find him there, Fr. Vicente feared he had been burnt to death, but such was not the case; for Fr. Luis had gone up to the savages, who at once took his life in a cruel manner. Not knowing this, however, Fr. Vicente supposed that Fr. Luis might perhaps be in hiding and was not aware that the savages had departed. Hence he ordered a search. At the same time, he directed other Indians to extinguish the fire in the wheat room, so that as least some of the provisions that the mission had might be saved.

"The Indians searched for Fr. Luis and at length found him dead in the mission arroyo. The body was covered from head to foot with wounds and wore no more clothing than his innocent blood. They bore the corpse to Fr. Vicente, who was beside himself with grief at sight of his beloved companion Father. He wrote later that the face was so disfigured and bruised from the blows with war clubs that he could recognize the body of Fr. Luis only by the whiteness of the flesh appearing through the crust of blood, that was the only robe the corpse wore. There was not a sound spot on it, except the innocent hands. It is left to the reader to imagine the pain which the said Father must have felt, who saw his beloved companion missionary killed with such cruelty, and to picture the extraordinary lamentations of the neophytes bitterly bewailing their dead Father whom they loved so much. When pain and sorrow at last gave way to reflection, Fr. Vicente ordered some of the Indians to prepare stretchers on which

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to carry the dead and those of the wounded who could not travel on horseback, to the presidio, whilst waiting for relief from there. This was done; and when the soldiers appeared, they conveyed the dead and wounded to the garrison, Fr. Vicente following on foot. On arriving at the presidio, he buried the two dead, the venerable Fr. Luis Jayme and the blacksmith José Romero. Then they endeavored to restore to health the four soldiers and the carpenter Urselino. The former all recovered; but the carpenter who was more seriously injured died an exemplary death on the fifth day after the cruel tragedy. A few days later, Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén and Fr. Gregorio Amúrrio arrived. They had gone to found Mission San Juan Capistrano, but suspended action for the present. The three Fathers celebrated the obsequies for the dead Father, and then reported all that had occurred to the Fr. Presidente in letters which the lieutenant despatched by a courier to Monterey.

"The despatches of Lieutenant José Francisco de Ortega reached Captain Fernando Rivera at Monterey, on December 13, 1775, toward nightfall. No sooner had he read the note than he rode out to Mission San Carlos to deliver the letters from the Fathers of San Diego, that recounted the deplorable occurrence so deeply felt by all. When Fr. Serra learned what had happened, he exclaimed, 'Thanks be to God, that land is already irrigated; now the conversion of the Dieguiños will succeed.'[3]

"Captain Rivera resolved to go to San Diego immediately and that same night went back to Monterey. Fr. Serra desired to accompany him; but Rivera pleaded haste, so that Fr. Serra would not be able to follow him. At the Mission of San Carlos, the Office of the Dead was chanted and a Requiem Mass offered up. The six Fathers attended, though all believed that Fr. Luis having won the crown of martyrdom needed no prayers; but not being infallibly certain,

[3] "Gracias á Dios! ya se regó aquella tierra; ahora sí se conseguirá la reduccion de los Dieguiños."—Palóu, *Vida*, p. 184.

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they offered the suffrages. Moreover, each Father, according to the agreement, said twenty holy Masses for the soul of the deceased. Fr. Serra sent an account to the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando College, Mexico. To the viceroy also he wrote a full account, and prayed him to bear in mind that, instead of being frightened and disheartened, the friars in California felt encouraged by the example of their martyred brother, whom they envied the martyrdom. Fearing only that castigation might be inflicted on the Indians who had taken part in the murder and assault, Fr. Serra begged him to have mercy on them, since they were doubtless influenced by the enemy of souls, who, he hoped, would not be given the satisfaction of seeing the restoration of the mission and the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano delayed. What was wanted at the missions was a stronger guard to prevent similar disasters. These letters were brought to Captain Rivera by Fr. Dumetz, who accompanied Rivera as far as Mission San Antonio." [4]

The captain reached San Diego on January 11, 1776, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Juan Bautista Anza, commander of an expedition on its way from Sonora to San Francisco Bay, by Fr. Pedro Font, a Franciscan and chaplain of the troops and colonists, and by about thirty soldiers.[5] Fr. Font kept a very detailed diary; he was a close observer and not afraid to express his views clearly. From him we have some particulars that throw much light on the revolt and on Captain Rivera. "The presidio," he relates, "is located in a very bad place on a hill dominated by others. It is small and inadequate. At its foot, passes the river which for a great part of the year runs dry. Scarcely enough water is obtained from the pools in its sandy bed to suffice for drinking purposes."

Touching the conditions at the Mission, he writes:

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[4] Palóu, *Noticias*, iv, pp. 118-131; *Vida*, pp. 176-186. See also *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 169-170.

[5] For details of the expedition see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, chap. xi.

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"Neither the presidio nor the mission has as yet any fields under cultivation; wherefore few Indians live there. Most of them, though they be Christians, are permitted to live in their rancherías, as is done in Lower California; for this reason they have such close intercourse with the pagan Indians. They are, in fact, more pagan than Christian. The destruction and assault has, therefore, made them very poor. In truth, Mission San Diego is the poorest which the Fathers have on the coast. Likewise, its Indians are the worst. They belong to the Quemaya tribe, and they are very similar to the Jecuiches as well for perverse intentions and wicked heart as for being in body vile, ugly, dirty, careless, smutty, and flatfaced. They are ungrateful to the Fathers, and so ill-mannered that to secure some fish the missionaries have to pay them with beads, or corn, etc.

"As already stated, the presidio and mission have neither sufficient soil nor water for raising grain. The missionary Fathers, after instructing the pagans, baptized a large number of them, I believe five hundred, and permitted them to live in their rancherías, only appointing one who knew how to lead in their prayers. All, however, were obliged to come to the mission by turns and hear holy Mass on Sundays and days of obligation, as is the custom in Lower California. Under these conditions, the Christians were such only in name, and more or less like the pagans, weak in Christianity, free to live as they pleased, and without sufficient instruction; but still the missionaries could do nothing more."

Fr. Font then relates the massacre and in forceful terms gives vent to his indignation regarding the sentinels who had been sleeping instead of standing guard. "The four soldiers," he writes, "be it that they had been wounded or that Captain Rivera had a special affection toward them, were not at all reproved. Neither was the sentinel at the presidio punished, who claimed that he had taken the light in the firmament, caused by the burning mission, to be the light of the moon; that, any way, it was his business to look after prisoners only, wherefore he did not bother where

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the light came from. The remarkable excuses of the negligent soldiery appeared to have satisfied Rivera. Instead, the commander blamed Lieutenant Francisco de Ortega, toward whom he nourished a special animosity, because the Fathers had recommended him to the government. Ortega, however, was entirely innocent for the simple reason that he had been absent at the time, having accompanied Fr. Lasuén to found Mission San Juan Capistrano. But he was friendly to the missionaries, and that was another motive for the commander's animosity. Rivera made much more ado about the soldiers than about the missionaries as may be seen from the way he seized the opportunity to vent his pent-up spleen on Fr. Serra. When he, as commander at Monterey, received the news of the uprising at San Diego Mission, he immediately went to Mission Carmelo to notify the Fr. Presidente and he did it in this brutal fashion. 'Fr. Presidente,' he said on entering Fr. Serra's room, 'I have just received a fatal notice from San Diego which obliges me to put myself on the road thither immediately, and it is that the Indians have revolted, burned the mission, and killed Fr. Luis. Only one thing pleases me very much, and it is that no soldier was killed, thanks be to God.'

"At the mission, everything had been reduced to ashes," Fr. Font continues, "so that the Fathers were entirely destitute, their books, manuscripts, etc., having all been destroyed in the fire. The censer, the chalice used at holy Mass, and pieces of coin used in the ceremonies of marriage, had been melted to a solid mass. The missionaries retired to the presidio, where they were huddled together bereft of every comfort.

"On January 14, 1776, Sunday," Fr. Font tells us that he celebrated holy Mass and that afterwards "High Mass was sung by one of the Fathers, in honor of the Most Sweet Name of Jesus for the pacification of the Indian rebels. I sang in the choir," he adds, "and accompanied my singing with a poor spinet, which Fr. Angel Somera (of San Gabriel) left for this mission when he was at the presidio."

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"On Monday, January 15, the examination of the revolters was resumed. Besides the five chiefs imprisoned at the presidio, two were taken from the mission ranchería. These went to join the savages, who wanted to make a third attack on the presidio. The lieutenant ordered the two to be flogged; this was done with such severity that one of the unfortunates died, while the other was in a bad condition. Fr. Fermín Lasuén began to treat this latter culprit very kindly and patiently; but he met with little gratitude. The Indian remained sullen, and, on recovering somewhat, he disappeared. Later, the nine new prisoners were examined, having previously received fifty lashes. Nevertheless, it was not learned what they had done with the images of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Joseph." Fr. Font further remarks that the Indians appeared to be infested from childhood with sores and tumors, since they were covered with scabs, a sign of impure blood, just as he had observed on the savages of the sierra.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of beeswax candles, the solemn blessing of candles, on February 2, took place. "In this connection I must remark," he writes, "that the church is a *jacal* of tule, which is very poorly constructed and had formerly been used as a warehouse." This fact the reader will please remember, because it has bearing on the conduct of Rivera.

On February 3, it was reported from San Gabriel that the people were suffering from lack of food. Accordingly, on Sunday, February 4, a train of pack mules was sent with provisions consisting of worm-eaten corn. Doña Catarina Ortíz, the wife of Don Manuel Monteagudo, at whose house Fr. Font was quartered, tried to persuade him to stay until he had recovered from his illness, and she also requested Anza to postpone the departure; but Fr. Font would not hear of it. Hence, on February 9, Anza set out, accompanied by Fr. Font and guards.

In the meantime, one of the neophytes, who had participated in the assault on the mission, repented and took refuge in the building used for divine service at San Diego. "When

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Fr. Vicente learned this," Fr. Palóu writes, "he went in person to visit the captain and told him what had occurred, in order to see what could be done quietly. The captain replied that it was well; he would think it over. What he did, however, was to send an official note to said Father, telling him to deliver the Indian culprit named Carlos, who had taken refuge in the sanctuary to which privilege on account of his crime he had no right, and which did not render his person sacred, especially since the apartment where holy Mass was celebrated was not a church but only a warehouse. Therefore, the Indian should be turned over within so many hours; if this was not done, he (Rivera) would take him out by force and bring him to the guardhouse as a prisoner."

"Having considered the document, Fr. Vicente Fuster with the assistance of the two Fathers then at the mission (Fr. Lasuén and Fr. Amúrrio), drew up a reply, saying they could not hand over the Indian without the express command of the ecclesiastical Superior to whom the matter pertained; and that if his honor, the captain, dared to take him out by force, he would stand excommunicated, of which this reply was to serve as a notification. At the same time, Fr. Fuster quoted the authorities they had consulted before making the answer. No sooner had Rivera received the letter, than he collected his troops and with them surrounded the chapel. Then he himself, girded with his sword, the baton in one hand and a lighted candle in the other, entered the chapel. Seizing the poor neophyte, who had taken refuge in the sanctuary, Rivera dragged him from the chapel and took him to the guardhouse, where he ordered him to be put in the stocks.

"The Fathers from the door of their habitation witnessed and heard with amazement the tumult which they were powerless to stop. Fr. Vicente, as minister in charge, vigorously protested, however, against the force employed in his church. In a loud voice he exclaimed that the captain and all who had participated in taking the Indian from the church were excommunicated and would be regarded as

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such. The captain responded, 'Alright, Father, your Reverence may protest. There goes the protest,' he added, pointing to the prisoner whom they were taking away.

"Next day, Fr. Vicente sent another note, and after a certain interval, a third, warning the captain to return the culprit under pain of having the excommunication published. Far from complying, however, Rivera disdained even to read the notes. Two days later, on the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows,[6] the Fathers made ready to sing a High Mass. But before beginning, the people being already assembled, Fr. Lasuén, who was to be the celebrant of the holy Mass, turned to the people and said, 'Señores, we are about to sing holy Mass in honor of Our Lady of Sorrows in this church. It has been said that I had declared this edifice not to be a church; I here maintain, however, that I never made such an assertion. I have always averred and I repeat it now, that this is the church of the presidio, and that all those who took part in removing the Indian now held a prisoner in the guardhouse, are excommunicated, and that, therefore, they may not assist at holy Mass. Hence, if any one of them should be in the church, he will leave; otherwise, I am not permitted to proceed with holy Mass.' At this, all who had cooperated went out, and the Fathers sang the holy Mass."

If the reader opens the Sacred Scriptures at the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Deuteronomy, verses 2, 3, 7, he will find specific ordinances explaining the attitude of the priests at San Diego. "I command thee that thou separate three cities at equal distances from one another . . . so that he who is forced to flee for manslaughter may have near at hand whither to escape . . ." The Catholic Church (and under Spanish rule this was the law of the dominion) extended this immunity for refugees to all her churches. Accordingly, any one accused of murder, whether guilty or not, who took refuge in such a sanctuary, was regarded as inviolable while in the shadow of the altar. Civil

[6] In that year, 1776, the feast fell on March 29, Easter being on April 7.

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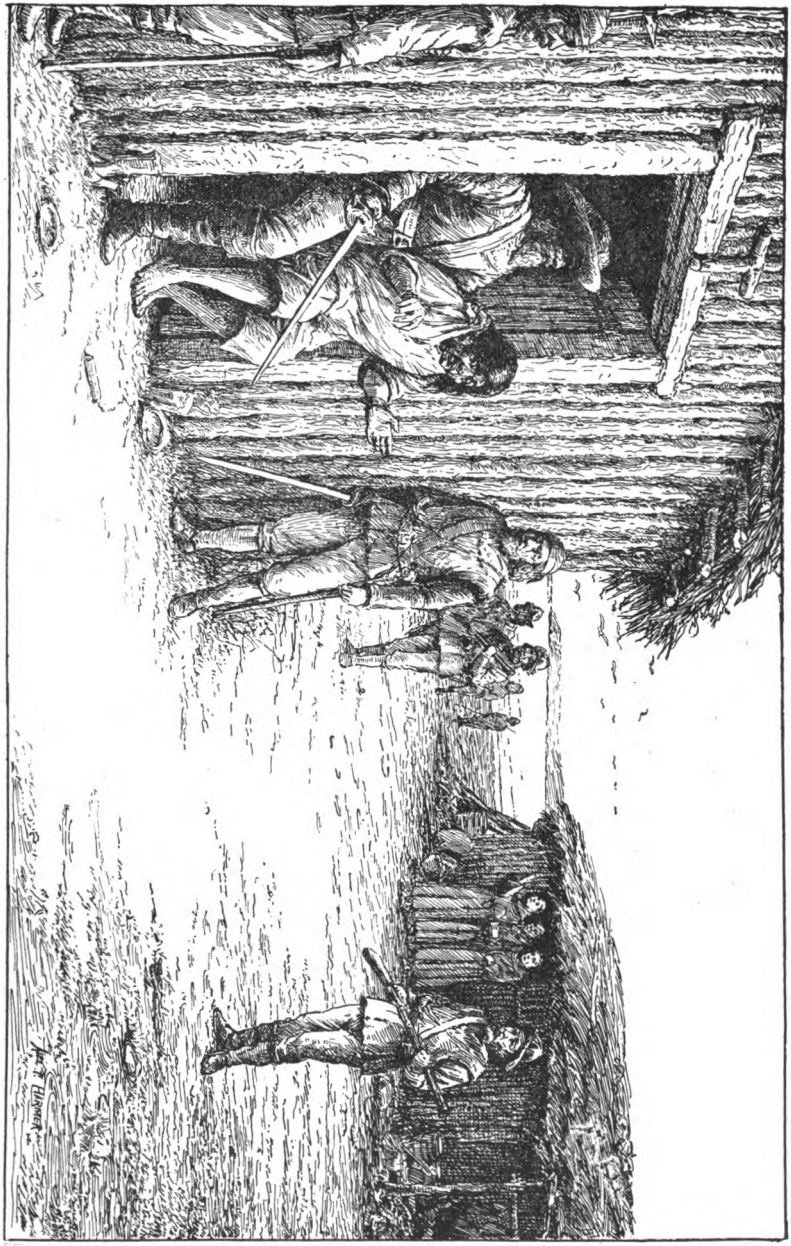

DON FERNANDO DE RIVERA VIOLATES CHURCH ASYLUM

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and military authorities could do nothing but formally demand that the accused be delivered up to justice. The priest in charge would give up the refugee only after the secular authorities had promised in writing that the accused should have a fair trial. An official, who entered the sanctuary of the church armed for the purpose of forcibly seizing the refugee and without giving the required bond, incurred excommunication. Rivera knew this law both of the Church and of Spain very well; but because Fr. Serra had unwittingly offended the officer's pride, Rivera determined to seize this opportunity to show his superiority over the Fathers. Indeed, he treated the promulgation of the excommunication with contempt; but soon to his cost he learned that he had overreached the mark. No one would associate with an excommunicated person; nor could one under excommunication attend public worship, or receive the Sacraments. Rivera's companions in the crime against Church Asylum, doubtless, experienced the consequences more quickly, and possibly made him feel it. Too proud to acknowledge his fault, the captain approached Fr. Serra at Monterey and, over the heads of the San Diego Fathers, sought to obtain release from the necessity of giving satisfaction for the insult to the Church as well as for the scandal given to the amazed Indian converts. Fr. Serra, however, after hearing Rivera's quibble about the warehouse not being a church, and after reading the letters received from the Fathers of San Diego, decided that the captain would have to restore the Indian to the same church in charge of the Fathers and that in this event they themselves would lift the excommunication. Whether or not Rivera followed these instructions is not known.[7]

Meanwhile, the Fathers of San Diego reported to their Superior that after months no steps had been taken to restore the mission, or to proceed with the founding of San Juan

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[7] For details see *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 185-188, 668-670. Fr. Font writes that Rivera entered the chapel with drawn sword—*con la espada desnuda en la mano.*

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Capistrano, and that the two Fathers destined for this mission, Fr. Lasuén and Fr. Amúrrio, as also Fr. Fuster, were chafing under their inactivity. Disheartened and disgusted they petitioned Fr. Serra to permit them to retire to their mother College. Fr. Serra had long sought an opportunity to visit San Diego in person. At last he set sail in the *San Antonio,* which left Monterey on June 30, 1776. On July 11, he affectionately embraced his disconsolate subjects. Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria had come along.

After studying the situation, Fr. Serra immediately took steps for the restoration of the destroyed establishment. Approaching Captain Diego Choquet of the *San Antonio,* he asked him to lend his sailors for the work of rebuilding the mission, as long as the ship should tarry in the harbor, and provided Captain Rivera furnished a sufficient guard. To the delight of the Fr. Presidente, Choquet answered like a Christian, Fr. Palóu remarks; not only should the sailors assist, the captain replied, but he himself would act as foreman and, if necessary, as ordinary laborer.[8]

In an official note, Fr. Serra informed Comandante Rivera that now after eight months' waiting, the savages being entirely pacified and the ringleaders imprisoned, as his Honor had reported to the viceroy, the Fathers intended to begin rebuilding the burnt mission with the aid of Captain Choquet and his men who had readily offered their services, and that nothing more was required than a sufficient guard which, he trusted, the commander would supply. Much as this was against his grain, Rivera dared not refuse the guards; and, therefore, he detailed a corporal and five soldiers to protect the Fathers and laborers while at work on the mission. It was decided that on August 22 the work should commence.

When the time arrived, Fr. Serra, two of the missionaries, Captain Choquet accompanied by one of his pilots, the mate and twenty sailors, fifty Indian laborers, and the corporal

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[8] "que no solo los marineros sino que el mismo en persona iria de sobre-estante, y si fuese necesario de peon."

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with five soldiers, set out for the site of the ruined mission. The laborers went to work with a will. Some collected stones, others prepared the ground for the stone foundations, while the rest made adobes for the wall of the quadrangle behind which they could with security erect the church, habitations, and other buildings. For fifteen days, all toiled without any sign of trouble from savages. During this time, the men had brought together a large quantity of stone and had made seven thousand adobe bricks. In two weeks, they hoped to have the walls of the quadrangle nearly completed. Fr. Serra nourished the hope of finishing the mission before the ship would have to leave; after that, he thought, it would be time for sowing wheat. But the arch-enemy had concocted another scheme to frustrate the plans of Fr. Presidente, and to carry it out he employed no less a person than Don Fernando Rivera himself.

A neophyte of Mission San Diego went one day to the presidio and told the comandante how he had heard from a pagan Indian that the rancherías of the savages intended to repeat their assault, and that they were making many arrows. Rivera at once sent out the sergeant of the presidio with a party of soldiers to ascertain the truth. On his return, he stated that not the least sign had been observed that might warrant belief in the rumor. Nevertheless, Don Fernando credited the story of the neophyte, and it frightened him to such a degree that, without saying a word to Fr. Serra, who that day happened to be at the presidio, he went out to the mission site with some soldiers. The men, in quite a cheerful mood, were resting that day, because it was Sunday and the feast of Our Lady's Nativity. On arriving there, Don Fernando called Captain Choquet aside and told him he was convinced the savages would make another attack on the mission. He had, therefore, determined to withdraw the soldiers and advised the captain to retire likewise with his men, since they owed as much to the royal service. "You will also do me the favor," he added, "to notify the Fathers; for I can not tell them, knowing what a pain it will cause them."

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Rivera was not sincere. He had in various ways proved that he cared naught how much he pained the friars; otherwise he would not have subjected Fathers Lasuén and Amurrio to almost a year of intolerable idleness, when he should have assisted them to proceed with the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano. Nor was Choquet deceived.

Despite his clear and forceful arguments, the captain of the ship could not make Rivera change his mind. When he asked the comandante whether he had made any effort to ascertain the truth, the latter replied that he had not done so, but that, since he noticed the Indians were repeating the story, he took it to be true. "At another time when rumors like these circulated," the indignant Choquet rejoined, "before taking any steps, you ordered the sergeant to investigate and found them to be lies; for the rancherías were very quiet and the Indians very sorry and repentant for what had happened. Command that investigations be made now, and you will learn that, with all the armed troops here, there is no reason for alarm. It would seem more to the purpose, if you have any misgivings, to increase the guards, rather than have them retire, to the disgrace of the Spanish arms." Instead of convincing the comandante, these arguments angered him all the more. Leaving strict orders that his own troops should withdraw, he returned to the presidio.

"I see no reason for withdrawing and it is a downright shame," said the captain to the Fathers; "but I do not care to have a quarrel with this man, and, therefore, I have resolved to leave." The missionaries naturally felt the blow very keenly; but none more so than the venerable Fr. Presidente. As soon as he heard of the proposed retreat, he was almost beside himself. He could find no other words to express the pain of his heart than "Let the will of God be done, who alone can provide a remedy." The *San Antonio* now set sail for San Blas, where the captain reported Rivera's unworthy conduct to the viceroy.

The darkest hour of the night, it is said, is the hour before dawn. Such was the experience, at least, of Fr. Serra. About this time, an old Indian came up from Lower

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California and assured the Fathers that Corporal Guillermo Carrillo, whom Rivera had despatched south with letters for the viceroy, was at Mission San Fernando de Velicatá, waiting for soldiers on their way to San Diego; and so it was. On the feast of St. Michael, September 29, twenty-five soldiers, whom Captain Pedro Fages had recruited at Guadalajara by order of the viceroy, arrived at the presidio. They brought letters for Fr. Serra from Viceroy Bucareli and from the Fr. Guardian of the College. Under date of April 3, 1776, Bucareli wrote:

On March 26 last, I wrote to Your Reverence, expressing my great sorrow at the terrible disaster which had befallen the Mission of San Diego, and telling you of the instructions which I at once gave in order to remedy, as far as possible, the damage which might result from not having reinforcements at hand for the garrison and mission. Now, however, in view of your letter and the very prudent reflections which Your Reverence makes, you being of the opinion that it will be more expedient to attract the rebellious neophytes than to punish them, I reply to Your Reverence that I have so directed, by commanding on this same date Commandant Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada to act accordingly, and to bear in mind that this is the most suitable means for pacifying and tranquillizing the souls as also, perhaps, for converting the neighboring pagans, if, namely, they experience kindness and good treatment when for their excesses they will doubtless be expecting castigation and the devastation of their rancherías.

Moreover, I instructed the said officer that the main thing now is the restoration of Mission San Diego and the refounding of San Juan Capistrano; the former on the same place before occupied, the latter on the site selected before the attack happened. . . . I communicate all this to Your Reverence for your satisfaction and consolation, hoping that under the impulse of the apostolic zeal which animates you for the welfare of those missions, Your Reverence will contribute to render my instructions effective, assured that I am disposed on my part to provide every assistance possible.

Had this letter of the noble viceroy arrived a few weeks earlier, Fr. Palóu remarks, the good Fr. Presidente would have been spared all the distress that Rivera's spite work caused him. However, the haughty commander's triumph lasted only three weeks. Immediately after reading the glorious news, the happy Fr. Serra had the bells rung and on the following morning sang a High Mass of thanksgiving.

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Rivera assigned twelve soldiers as guards for the mission and set at liberty the Indian prisoners. Not wishing to be present at the opening of the mission, the restoration of which he had wilfully delayed, Don Fernando accompanied by twelve soldiers started for the north on October 11, in order to execute the viceroy's command for the founding of the two missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara, which he likewise had delayed.

Meanwhile, Captain Choquet's report reached Viceroy Bucareli. The latter felt so mortified at Rivera's conduct that he ordered Don Felipe de Neve, governor of both Lower and Upper California, to take up his residence at Monterey and to work in harmony with the Fr. Presidente. To Fr. Serra, Bucareli, under date of December 25, 1776, penned a beautiful and consoling letter, similar to his preceding communication.[9]

With Fathers Lasuén and Fuster, and escorted by the twelve guards, Fr. Serra proceeded to the old mission site in order to begin the restoration of the buildings. Aided by the neophytes, who now were quite willing to work, such progress was made in a short time that the Fr. Presidente felt the work of completing the necessary structures could be entrusted to the resident missionaries. Stationing Fr. Lasuén and Fr. Figuer at the mission, he in company with Fathers Mugártegui and Amúrrio hastened to found Mission San Juan Capistrano. The heroic Fr. Fuster was placed at Mission San Gabriel as supernumerary. By October 17, 1776, the buildings were ready for occupation. From that date the Fathers again felt at home; they were once more able to celebrate holy Mass in a real church, instead of having to utilize a part of a warehouse, as at the presidio.

Don Rivera had been ordered to release the prisoners; but he seems to have taken his time about it or to have liberated only a portion of them. At all events, according to Bancroft, the comandante says in a letter, dated February

[9] See Palóu, *Vida,* pp. 189-195; *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 210-218.

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27, 1777, that thirteen prisoners implicated in the revolt were still at the presidio. In a letter of June 3, 1777, however, he writes that on receipt of the viceroy's orders of February 2, the troops were drawn up, and the prisoners called out. After being harangued on the enormity of their offense which merited death, the prisoners were warned that if they abused the present clemency they would have to expect the severest penalty; then they were dismissed with an exhortation by the priests. Both soldiers and accused united in a cheer, while a salute from the two cannons celebrated the termination of a painful affair.

One of the prisoners failed to benefit by this kindness. He had committed suicide the year before, on August 15, the anniversary of the assault that occurred seven years before when he had attempted to kill Fr. Serra. Far from repenting, this prisoner stubbornly persisted in his pagan errors. Since he was one of the chief conspirators who ruined the mission in 1775, we may presume that he was an Indian medicine man; that would explain everything. Having been captured while perpetrating his last crime, he was placed with his fellow conspirators in the jail of the presidio. The zealous Fr. Serra, hoping to convert the unfortunate man, visited him and exhorted him to repent, assuring him that Almighty God would pardon his crimes; but, despite all sympathy and loving appeals, the obstinate pagan would not utter as much as a word. The other prisoners, indeed, were moved to tears by the ardent exhortation of Fr. Serra and begged him to intercede for them, because they wanted to become Christians, as in fact they later did; but the unfortunate chief conspirator, on the morning of the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, August 15, 1776, was found to have strangled himself to death. It caused not a little astonishment and comment that, without the knowledge of any one, the Indian could put a rope around his neck and hang himself in the very midst of his fellow prisoners.[10]

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[10] Bancroft, vol. i, p. 302.

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CHAPTER V.

Condition of Mission Registers.—Fr. Serra's *Nota Previa.*—Fr. Fuster's Note.—Fr. Fuster's First Annual Report.—Statistics.—Report for 1777 by FF. Lasuén and Figuer.—Savages Plotting.—Battle.—Prisoners.—Fr. Serra's Letters.—Lack of Grain.—The Fr. Presidente Confirming at San Diego.—Scanty Grain for Planting.—The Fathers All to All.

IN the conflagration, on November 4, 1775, not only the mission buildings but also the mission registers were destroyed. This was a heavy and, in part, an irreparable loss. These books, kept at all the missions, were bound in flexible leather covers. Besides those in which all Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths were recorded, there was the so-called Padrón, containing a list of the converts with notes regarding their antecedents and present conditions. Fortunately, these mission records had been begun only five years before the San Diego disaster. It was, therefore, possible to restore, to a great extent at least, the entries from the memory of the Fathers and of others belonging to the mission. This was done, Fr. Serra himself writing the title page to the three registers and prefacing the new entries with a *NOTA PREVIA.* In the Baptismal Register this *Nota* reads as follows:

"The first book in which the entries of Baptisms, as they had been administered, were noted with due distinction and clearness; from the beginning of the founding of this Mission of San Diego, the entries had reached, on November 5, 1775, the number 470.[1] It was destroyed by fire along with the rest of the official church books, the sacred vestments and vessels, the buildings, furniture, and implements of said mission. Among them were also the padrón and

[1] This statement was made on the authority of Fr. Fuster, who, after closer investigation, found the number of baptisms administered by the end of December, 1775, to be only 431.

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Ave Ins. Mª Jph

Libro Primero,

en que se asientan las partidas de los,

Bautismos

de esta nueva Mision de

San Diego.

Perteneciente al Colegio Apostco. De propaganda Fide de Misioneros del orden de N. S. P. S. Francisco de la Regr. Observancia, de San Fernando de Mexico,

Fundada

á expensas del Catholico Monarca Dn. Carlos III. Rey de las Españas, (que Dios prospere) subministradas de amplisima Comision del Exmo. Sor. Dn. Carlos Franco. de Croix, Marques de Croix, actual Virrey, Governador y Capitan Gen. de esta nueva España.

Por el Illmo. Sor. Don Joseph de Galvez del Consejo y Camara de su Magd. en el Real y supremo de los Indios, Intendente de Exercito, y Visitador General de esta nueva España, por los Religiosos de dho Apostco. Colegio y

Comenzada

dia diez y seys de Julio, dia del Triunfo de la Ssma. Cruz, y de Ns. Sra. Maria Ssa. del Carmen q. fue Domingo en el año del Señor de 1769.

Fueron sus prim. Ministros

el P. Pr. Fr. Junipero Serra Presid. y el P. Pr. Fray Fernando Parron PPres. Appcos. de dho Colegio de Sn. Fernando de Mexico asociados del P. Pr. Fr. Juan Viscayno destinado á fundacion de otra Mision.

Consta este libro

Restaurador de otro quemado. *Quita fol. 2.

De tres-cientas noventa y seys hojas utiles anotadas con sus num. sin la primera, y ultima q. queda blancas, y q. consta lo firme en 14 de Agosto de 1770.

Fr. Juni[illegible] Serra

other papers with the aid of which, in a general way at least, the lost books might have been restored.

"The said mission was first established near where at present the military camp or presidio, likewise called San Diego, is located, facing the famous port of the same name, but which in the language of the natives is called Cosoy. On account of greater facilities in planting, stock raising, etc., it was moved about two leagues toward the north-northeast to a spot called, in the language of the Indians, Nípaguay. Here it was that the devouring conflagration occurred, the transfer having been effected in the month of August, 1774.

"The authors of that lamentable destruction were savages and perverted neophytes, who united more than seventy rancherías into a formidable array and invaded the mission with an armed force. They pillaged part of it, burnt the greater portion, wounded a few resisting guards, killed the blacksmith from Tepic, José Manuel Arroyo, and the carpenter from Guadalajara, Jose Urselino, and with untold cruelty the principal and senior missionary, Reverend Fr. Lector Luis Jaume, who was a member of the Province of Majorca, as is noted in the Death Register. Not without the special providence of the Most High, his companion missionary, Fr. Vicente Fuster, escaped death. He is the only one who can give a more complete account of those baptized and thus possibly restore this register down to the day of the fire."

Fr. Serra covers several pages with notes, which are immaterial here. He concludes his *Nota Previa* as follows:

"Finally, for better information, I shall note down the various missionaries this mission had from its foundation to the day of the fire. They succeeded one another as follows: The first two, mentioned on the title page, persevered in our mission until the middle of April of the following year, i.e., 1770. In these nine months, we labored merely to secure the good-will of the savages and to make clear to them, as far as possible, the object of our coming to this country. Passing over in silence the peril our lives

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were in during the assault made on us and other little troubles, I will say only that in this period we administered not one Baptism. On Easter Sunday, April 15, I set sail from this port in search of Monterey, in order to found a mission there. In my place I left Rev. Fr. Francisco Gómez, Fr. Juan Viscáino having gone to Mexico by way of Lower California. The two Fathers Fernando Parrón and Francisco Gómez remained an entire year, during which they administered the first Baptisms, thus making a happy beginning of Christianity in this country, as will be seen later. After little more than a year, both Fathers departed on account of ill health, Fr. Parrón for Lower California and the other by sea for Mexico. In their places I appointed Fathers Francisco Dumetz and Luis Jaume, both of the Province of Majorca. They had shortly before arrived in this country by sea with eight other Religious, all from our aforementioned College of San Fernando de Mexico. The second named of these Fathers persevered in his ministry until he died and sealed it with his blood, as already stated. Fr. Dumetz remained one year, at the expiration of which I called him to Monterey. In his place as assistant came Fr. Juan Crespi, till then my companion in the Mission of San Carlos de Monterey. At the end of August, 1772, I found myself obliged to go by land from the Monterey mission to this one at San Diego. On the way, I founded, September 1, the Mission of San Luis Obispo and reached this Mission of San Diego about the middle of September. Sending Fr. Juan Crespi back to Monterey in order that in company with Fr. Dumetz he might serve that mission, I assigned, as missionary to this one and as companion to Fr. Luis Jaume, the Reverend Fr. Thomás de la Peña, who had recently arrived from one of the missions of Lower California. Then, about the middle of October of the same year, I embarked for Mexico in order to solicit the regulations expedient for the permanence and extension of these new missions. Fr. De la Peña continued a whole year in the ministry. In the month of September, 1773, he was replaced by Fr. Vicente Fuster, who with other Religious

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had arrived shortly after the missions of Lower California had been ceded to the Dominican Fathers. The change was made by the Rev. Fr. Lector Francisco Palóu, Ex-Presidente of those Lower California Missions and actual Vice-Presidente of the ones in Upper California. When, in March, 1774, I returned from Mexico, I approved this assignment of missionaries. Fr. Fuster persevered and he is here to this day. In testimony of which I subscribe at this Mission and Presidio of San Diego, September 16, 1776.—Fr. Junípero Serra."

In his prefatory note to the Death Register, Fr. Serra says: "Many of the crews of the ships (*San Carlos* and *San Antonio*) arrived (in 1769) stricken with scurvy. In a short time some of them were at death's door, among them half of the detachment of twenty-five volunteers from Catalonia. The consequence was that, a few months after the founding of the mission, it became necessary to adjust the count of more than sixty dead. All died after receiving the Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, with the exception of one youth who failed to receive Holy Viaticum. Fr. Parrón, though ill himself, labored above all others with inflexible intrepidity, administering the Sacraments to the sick. He was of the Province of San Miguel de Estremadura. May God reward him.

"The names and entries of the dead were written in the book that was burnt. For those who had passed away before my arrival, Fr. Parrón let me have a well kept memorandum in which were noted the dead whom he had attended. Although I remember some of the names, the number of those regarding whom I do not remember the details is much larger. Therefore, I omit reproducing them, contenting myself with asking God our Lord that the names of all may be written in heaven and that through his mercy their souls may rest in peace. Amen.

"Furthermore, of the first land expedition, there died at different places on the road five Indians, who had come from various missions of Lower California. To these Fr. Juan Crespi administered the Sacraments of Penance and

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Extreme Unction, and gave burial in the respective localities. Their names also were entered by me in the afore-mentioned book. May God our Lord have their names in the Book of Life. Amen.

"Finally, no one of the second land expedition died on the road. But after they had arrived, four passed away. One was the youth José Maria Vegerano, a Spaniard, twenty years of age, who had come as muleteer in my service. He was unmarried and a native of Pueblo de la Magdalena, in the diocese of Guadalajara. He died on August 15, from an arrow wound received during the Indian assault which occurred on that day. I buried him that same day at nightfall.

"In the month of February, 1770, I buried, according to the rites of the Church, Juan Evangelista Benno, an Indian youth about eighteeen years of age. He was the son of Carlos Tápia of the Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe, in Lower California, whence, with the blessing of his parents, he set out with me as my servant. He died after receiving the Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction. I buried him clothed in our habit. The corpse was present at the Requiem High Mass which was celebrated with as much solemnity as possible.

"At the same time, a few days intervening, two Indian neophytes departed this life. They were recent converts of the newly founded mission in Lower California, that is to say of Mission Santa Maria. One of them, single and about twenty years of age, was called Bartolomé; the other, apparently his cousin and Mateo by name, was somewhat older and married. I heard their confessions as well as I could; it was attended with some difficulty, however, owing to their meagre knowledge and to the lack of interpreters. It seems to me that Extreme Unction was administered to them. That all this may be in evidence and that this book be continued, beginning anew from the first neophytes that died and received burial, I so certify and subscribe, on October 25, 1776.—Fr. Junípero Serra."

Immediately after the signature of Fr. Serra, follows this

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note by Fr. Fuster: "I am not able to account for, nor do the Indians remember all the neophytes who died at this mission. I can note in this book only those who died during the time I exercised the ministry at this Mission of San Diego. It is not easy to make the entries chronologically, because I do not remember in which year each one died; nor can I indicate whether or not they received the Sacraments, though I suppose the majority did. Since this book takes the place of the one that was burnt, and since Fr. Luis Jaume shed his blood in return for the benefits he bestowed upon and the instruction he gave to these neophytes by word and example, I shall begin with the death entry of said Father." After relating what happened on November 5, 1775, Fr. Fuster makes the entries in the regular order, beginning with Fr. Jaume; then follows the name of José Ursulino, the blacksmith, and so on.

In the new Baptismal Register, Fr. Serra enumerates the Baptisms administered by Fathers Parrón and Gómez, sixteen in number. Fr. Fuster then enters those administered by Fathers Dumetz and Jaume, from the middle of 1771 to about the middle of 1773; these run from number 17 to 53 and are all, he says, that he could discover. Then he finds that numbers 54 to 89 were entered from September 1773 to August 1774. All these Baptisms had been administered at the first mission site, Cosoy.

"In August, 1774," Fr. Fuster notes, "Mission San Diego was moved from its old location, where now the presidio of the same name stands and which place the natives called Cosoy, to this new site which by the same natives is called Nípaguay. From that time until the revolt, the following Baptisms were administered, beginning with the day of our holy Father San Diego, on whose feast the church was dedicated. On that day, I baptized numbers 90 to 93." Then Fr. Fuster enters all who were baptized thereafter to the day of the savage attack, November 5, 1775, and to seven weeks later, i. e. December 31. These run up to number 431,[2] all

[2] See note 1.

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that he could discover. After the destruction of the mission on November 5, the Fathers lived at the presidio. Here comparatively few Baptisms were administered, in fact, until December, 1776, only twenty-two. The first Baptism in the restored mission church at Nípaguay, or Our Lady of Pilár, took place on December 8, 1776. It is number 454 in the list."

On March 20, 1777, Fr. Vicente Fuster compiled the first Annual Report for Mission San Diego. After briefly recounting the destruction of the mission, in which everything pertaining to it was lost, including documents and books he enumerates under various heads what the mission now possessed, most of which had come by ship since the disaster.

Church.—"This is a chapel where holy Mass is celebrated. The individuals attend it, remaining outside, however, because the church could not for want of supplies be completed." Chapel and sacristy contained the following articles: a white, ordinary chasuble and an old red one of damask; another old one "which serves for all colors"; an ordinary alb, amice, cincture, a set of altar-cloths, a silver chalice and paten; and a Roman missal. These articles were at the presidio. At the mission itself, were one silver chalice with paten, a fine alb, and a dalmatic which was remodeled into a chasuble. The *memorias* from Mexico added two consecrated altar stones, two fine albs, two corporals, twelve purificators, twelve finger towels, two cinctures, two sets of altar-cloths, a carpet, surplices, forty pieces of *paño encarnado,* and one mirror.

House.—The habitations of the Fathers consist of two apartments, both of adobe and with thatched roof, one of which measures six by five varas, the other five by four and a half. Another little apartment of the same size serves as refectory. The furniture comprises two tables, two chairs, one bench of alamillo wood, and one cedar table for the refectory; then the necessary clothing for the Fathers, one volume, Life of San Diego, and two volumes of the writings of Venerable Luis de Granáda. There are also three

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cedar chests and one pine chest which contain the clothing to be distributed to the Indians. Both rooms have doors with locks.

Storeroom or Granary—At present, the mission possesses no other supplies than about six fanégas of beans, which were donated, and the rations for the Fathers, which are served to them every week from the presidio warehouse. With these supplies are maintained four families of Lower California Indians, who stay at the mission, and about eighteen Indian boys, who are regularly at hand, besides a few sick Indians. Furthermore, the Fathers have on hand for their own use about two fanégas of flour. Mission San Gabriel contributed four fanégas of corn, nine fanégas of wheat, and one fanéga of beans. The granary measures five by fourteen varas. The walls are of adobe, the roof is thatched, and the door has a lock.

Kitchen or Pozolero.—The kitchen for the Indians has one very large iron kettle for the pozóle and three small copper kettles. The Fathers' kitchen has three small copper pots, several plates of pewter, and three others of Guadalajara chinaware, six cups, six saucers of the same material, one and a half dozen common plates and six *metátes.* This kitchen is built of adobe and is four varas square.

Harness Room or Jato.—This building measures four by five varas. It contains thirteen harnesses, five cowboy saddles, sixteen *Libranzas de Pita,* and five tanned hides.

Farm.—During the month of November last, 1776, there were sown eight fanégas and eight almúdes of wheat and one fanéga of barley. The land was plowed with the aid of four yoke of oxen belonging to the mission. It has also four ploughs and four additional ploughshares, sixteen old pickaxes, twelve weed hooks, and five iron crowbars.

Live Stock.—The live stock comprises 102 head of cattle, including the four yoke of oxen already mentioned and the calves of this year. Then there are 304 sheep and goats; ten hogs, four of which have young; eight tame horses, six of which are old; five unbroken colts; seventeen mares, one stud, and one tame burro; another drove of mares

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with another stud; twelve foals and four young mules; eighteen head of mules, some of which are not serviceable.

Dormitory.—In addition to the habitations mentioned in the beginning, there is a house of adobe with thatched roof, seven by four and a half varas. This is used as a dormitory for boys and young men.

Baptisms, Marriages, Deaths.—From the founding of the mission to the end of December, 1776, there were blessed 114 marriages. 303 adults and 137 children of both sexes, in all, 440 baptized Indians are living at the mission, except seven who did not care to show up since the fire. All these have been entered in the Padrón corresponding to the number in the Baptismal Register. So far as I could verify them, there were 461 Baptisms since the founding. Although, in the preceding report, I have said there were 470 Baptisms,[3] I was unable, despite investigation, to discover more. I presume that in the course of the year they have died, though I can not assert this for want of original records.

"During my time, twenty-three Indians died. How many passed away before my time, I do not know, since the original records are wanting.—Fr. Vicente Fuster."[4]

The next Annual Report was drawn up and signed by Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén and countersigned by Fr. Juan Figuer, on December 31, 1777. It is very long and explicit. Omitting what will appear in the tabular reports from year to year, we shall briefly note only the most important facts and changes. These will suffice to show how scrupulously exact the Fathers were in everything that pertained to their charge.

During the year, eighty-five Indian adults (including all over nine years of age) and thirty-one Indian children received Baptism. Sixteen other persons (eight adults and

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[3] See note 1.

[4] Vicente Fuster, *Informe Anual,* March 20, 1777; *Santa Barbara Archives.*

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eight children) were discovered who had been overlooked in compiling the new register. These with the 459 already entered brought the number of those baptized since 1770 up to 591.

The Padrón or Roll, says the Report, brings the names of 413 adults and 138 children who, at alternate periods, attend instructions and divine services. In addition, there are two adult catechumens and one child. This indicates that forty are missing who may have feared to return, as some Indians were still imprisoned at the presidio.

Since November, there was great mortality among the sheep. Nevertheless, the mission owns 244 sheep and 156 goats, besides 138 head of cattle.

During the year, all the buildings were repaired and a new church of adobe with thatched roof was erected. It measured five by twenty varas, that is to say, eighty feet in length and fourteen feet in width, inside measurement probably. It had one door with lock and two small windows. Then, a corridor was built along the front of the Fathers' habitation and the store room; also a shelter of adobe with thatched roof was erected for the lambs and kids.

"In the Valley of San Luis," Fr. Lasuén reports, "willow, poplar, and alder timber has been cut for a new church edifice, which is to be more spacious and better built than the present structure. Provided the harvest corresponds to what was planted, the building of the church will begin in the coming year (1778)."

Church and sacristy were enriched with various articles. New silver oil stocks in a suitable case and a Roman ritual came with the *memorias* from Mexico, while the Fr. Presidente sent a new silver ciborium. From Mission San Carlos came a red chasuble in fair condition, another chasuble very much used, and an old black chasuble, a missal, and a set of silver cruets.

From Mexico, the following additions to the library were welcomed: *Flos Sanctorum,* three volumes, by Ribandeneyra; *Itinerario de Parrochos,* in folio, by Montenegro; *Manogita de Tellado.* Mission San Carlos donated a *Biblia Sacra,*

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Mistica Ciudad de Dios, four volumes, together with its Prologo Galeato and Notes; a *Life of Ven. Mother de Agreda,* one volume; *Speculum Parrochorum* by Abreu; *Moral Theology,* two volumes, by Tamburino; *Doctrinas Practicas de Calataiud,* three volumes, by Montenegro; and *Florilegio Medicinal.*

House and kitchen of the Fathers received four pine chests with locks; one inkstand and one saltcellar of metal; a bottle case, containing eighteen bottles, six knives, a comb, scissors, and mirror; four copper pots, eight copper pans, assorted; two table cloths, six napkins, six copper covers or lids; and eighteen pewter plates.

"In the granary," Fr. Lasuén writes, "are two fanégas of corn, which is part of our rations from the government, and about two fanégas of beans. To these must be added forty-four fanégas of corn and seven fanégas of wheat, which were lately donated by Mission San Gabriel. With the fourteen fanégas of corn, which we found here in July, the five fanégas received in exchange for a bull, and our own weekly rations which the king grants from the warehouse at the presidio, together with the eight fanégas of beans, which were given us for celebrating a holy Mass, we have maintained the five Lower California neophytes, the shepherds, the interpreters, the sick, the little boys of the mission ranchería, and a few orphans, in all, thirty persons, besides a few little girls and laborers. At present, with the help that came from San Gabriel, the whole population of the ranchería is fed.

"For the field and shops, the *memorias* from Mexico brought twenty-four pack saddles, twenty-four leather bags, twelve pickaxes, six steel axes, and four *machetes* or chopping knives. From Mission San Carlos twelve additional pickaxes, twelve hoes, and four *machetes* were supplied.

"Nothing whatever was harvested during the year; but now there have been sown about twelve fanégas of wheat and seven pecks of barley; besides, more land has been cleared for sowing another fanéga of wheat.

"From the presidio store there is still due to the mission

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the property bequeathed to it by the deceased Ursulino, and various checks. What a few individuals owe this mission, for articles received and for holy Mass celebrated for them, amounts to about 190 (whether pesos or reales, the report does not specify; a real is equivalent to twelve and one-half cents). The storekeeper, Don Raphael de Pedro y Gil, as subsyndic, has in his keeping 211 *en reáles de Misa,* which have been entrusted to him; but the holy Masses have already been celebrated.

"On the other hand, this mission is under obligation to Mission San Carlos for what has already been mentioned under various heads. Mission San Luis Obispo has donated nine almúdes of garbanzos. Mission San Juan Capistrano furnished some altar cards. Mission San Gabriel donated twenty-four fanégas of wheat, twelve for planting and twelve for our own consumption, also forty-four fanégas of corn for the Indians, three fanégas of beans and a large quantity of onions, garlic, tomatoes, and chile for ourselves, one-fifth fanéga of barley for sowing, and sixteen dozens of rosary beads for the Indians.

"In return, this Mission of San Diego furnished Mission San Gabriel with forty-one pounds of iron and twenty-three pounds of steel with the necessary carbon and one laborer to work it into whatever should be wanted. To Mission San Juan Capistrano the mission sent ten head of sheep and eleven goats, besides twenty pounds of iron and sixteen pounds of steel with sufficient carbon. A laborer went along to do the work that should be required.

"The *Memorias* which this year came by ship from Mexico amounted to 83,715 reales. Of this, 340 were used for the Fathers as also for medicine, altar wine, and wax candles. The rest was applied for the benefit of the Indians and the mission. The freight charges amounted to 11,911 reales which together with the cost of the goods total 95,616 reales.

"To the syndic in Mexico the mission will be in debt to the amount of 383 pesos. Although we have heard that this will be canceled by our syndic or paid by benefactors,

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we have not seen any document to that effect.—Mission San Diego, December 31, 1777,—Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén. —Fr. Juan Figuer."

Unfortunately, the reports for the years 1778 and 1779 are missing; otherwise we should doubtless know more about the restlessness of the savages living between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano. Bancroft's version is as follows:

"In March, 1778, it was reported that the people of Pamó, one of the San Diego rancherías, were making arrows to be used against the Spaniards, counting on the aid of three neighboring bands and of one across the sierra, and having already murdered a San Juan Indian. Ortega, comandante of San Diego, sent a message of warning and Chief Aaran sent back a challenge to the soldiers to come and be slain. Sergeant Guillermo Carrillo's services were again called into requisition and he was sent with eight soldiers to chastise this insolence, capture the chiefs, and to give thirty or forty lashes to such warriors as might seem to need them. In carrying out his orders the sergeant surprised the foe at Pamó, killed two of the number, and burned a few who refused to come out of the hut in which they had taken refuge. The rest surrendered and took their flogging, while the four chieftains were bound and carried to San Diego. Captured in this battle were eighty bows, fifteen hundred arrows, and a large number of clubs. The four chiefs, Aachil, Aalcuirin, Aaran, and Taguagui, were tried on April 6, convicted of having plotted to kill Christians, in spite of the mercy shown them in the king's name for past offences, and condemned to death by Ortega, though that officer had no right to inflict the death penalty, even on an Indian, without the governor's approval. The sentence was: 'Deeming it useful to the service of God, the king, and the public weal, I sentence them to a violent death by two musket shots on the 11th at 9 A.M., the troops to be present at the execution under arms, also all the Christian rancherías subject to the San Diego Mission, that they may be warned to act righteously.' Fathers Lasuén and Figuer were sum-

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moned to prepare the condemned for their end. 'You will cooperate', writes Ortega to the Padres, 'for the good of their souls in the understanding that if they do not accept the salutary waters of holy baptism they die on Saturday morning; and if they do—they die all the same!' This was the first public execution in California."[5]

Probably, the execution was postponed, as the Fathers may have persuaded Ortega that a few days was not sufficient time to prepare savages for Baptism and for death, and that in consequence the culprits ought to be reprieved. Ortega may have remembered, too, that the governor's approval was necessary. A month's time, at least, was required to procure it. In that case, we can understand a letter dated by Fr. Serra at San Carlos, April 22, and directed to Fr. Lasuén. It reads as follows:

Dearest Father in Christ. Immediately on the receipt of your letters and before speaking to the governor, I reply briefly to the first (because the mail must leave here very soon), that I feel great compassion for the poor condemned culprits, although I doubt very much that the sentence will be executed. But, should it have to be inflicted, it seems to me that Your Reverence on the evening before might solemnly administer Baptism to them in prison, so that there lack nothing of whatever our most solicitous Mother, the Church, has provided, and that the remaining time till the execution be employed in having them make acts of Faith, etc., and pious ejaculations, and in exhorting them to bear their lot patiently, besides making other preparations for a happy death. That will be somewhat wearisome, no doubt, but very godly and meritorious. Above all, a crucifix and blessed rosaries should be given them. If for the *accipe vestem candidam*,[6] the sponsor of each one, or some other benefactor, would provide them with a tunic of white cotton cloth (*una tunica salar de manta*), so that they might die and be buried therein, it would be in my opinion an act very acceptable to God. If I have an opportunity I shall supplicate the governor that it be done at the cost of the king, our Lord. On this occasion, I again shall urge that the guards of your mission be reinforced. If my words prove ineffective, I have at least done what was in my power. It is not a little consoling to

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[5] Bancroft, *California*, vol. i, pp. 315-316.

[6] "receive the white garment,"—words addressed by the priest to one just baptized.

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know that if Your Reverences have to die at the hands of those savages, it will be because you are Christians. I should accept such a death with a cheerful heart, with grace, and as a favor from God. Still, because we need you alive and robust, it is but right to see that you are well protected and in a condition to increase the number of Christians, much as this may displease those of Pamó.[7]

Two months later, on June 10, Fr. Serra takes occasion to say in a letter to Fr. Lasuén, "I am very glad the governor has exercised mercy toward the four who had been condemned to death; but much more am I glad on account of the mercy which God our Lord has shown the one who died a Christian, and on the others who are in the same disposition of mind. May His Divine Majesty grant them perseverance unto the end." Still later, on September 28, 1779, Fr. Serra writes to Fr. Lausén: "It has pleased me very much that those once sentenced to death, not only continue to manifest a better spirit, but have even turned apostles by converting others to the bosom of our holy Mother Church. Thus I may be able to arrange for the poor fellow who is here by sending him to his native climate in the hope that he may imitate his companions."[8] It would seem that the sentence of death was commuted. At any rate, there are no particulars as to an execution.

The year 1778 gave cause for anxiety on account of the scanty crops. In the letter of April 22, already quoted, Fr. Serra replies to Fr. Lasuén's report in these terms: "The news that the wheat and other grain is falling behind for want of rain, grieved me very much. Tomorrow, with the help of God, will begin my especial supplications." Later, on June 10, he writes, "It has consoled me very much to learn that in their charity the Fathers at San Gabriel have remitted to your mission all it owed them. I shall thank them at once."

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[7] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[8] Indian criminals, not sentenced to death, were usually put to hard labor at some presidio away from the scene of their crime. Thus one happened to be at Monterey from San Diego.

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However, Fr. Serra desired to visit the sorely tried missionaries in person. An opportunity came during the summer. The *San Carlos* had arrived at Monterey with letters from the College, informing the Fr. Presidente that, at the request of the College, the Holy See had empowered him to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. After exercising this faculty for the first time at San Carlos, Fr. Serra desired to begin the Confirmation tour at San Diego. Here he arrived on board the *San Carlos,* on September 15, to the great delight of the Fathers in charge. On September 21, the feast of St. Matthew, "after singing the High Mass and preaching a doctrinal sermon to the people," as he himself writes, Fr. Serra, assisted by Fathers Lasuén and Figuer, confirmed seventy-four persons at the mission. On ten additional days, between September 25 and October 18, he confirmed 536 persons. In all, therefore, 610 Indians, including the few whites of the presidio, received the Sacrament of Confirmation. This number embraced nearly all that had been entered into the Baptism Register, which at the end of 1778 showed 679 names, minus the dead. The name of every one with that of the sponsor was entered in the Register of Confirmations, the title page of which Fr. Serra himself wrote on October 10, to correspond with the title page of the other Registers. The two assisting Fathers certified to the Confirmations by signing their names to the list of each day.[9]

The harvests of 1778 and of 1779 appear to have yielded very little grain. At all events, in a letter, dated August 16, 1779, Fr. Serra writes to Fr. Lasuén: "By ship I am forwarding to Your Reverence two fanégas of small corn for planting. It is of our last year's crop; but it has not been shelled. In that state you can safely plant it when the time comes, but only three grains to a hole, because you have to use it sparingly. I send also three fanégas of lentils.

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[9] *Register of Confirmation.*

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One is for your mission, the others are for Mission San Juan and Mission San Gabriel, respectively." [10]

How these men of superior learning and unworldly aims must often have sighed to be freed from the necessity of having to plan and figure about soil, irrigation, sowing grain and harvesting it, raising vegetables and fruits, about cattle, sheep, horses, mules, about feeding and clothing the converts, they who had been trained to contemplate the supernatural and instructed as to how to apply to themselves and to communicate to others the lofty truths of the Gospel! Indeed, all those bodily and worldly cares must have been as loathsome to the grey-robed friars as manual labor was to the savages in their charge. However, both submitted to the inevitable in order to accomplish what both had in view, the Fathers clearly and therefore ardently, the converts dimly and therefore less ardently—the salvation of their immortal souls. At any rate, nothing else could have induced the missionaries to engage in such drudgery, nor could the Indians on any other plea have been persuaded to yield their liberty, to quit their wild life forever and to accept the restraints of Christianity and civilization.

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[10] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

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CHAPTER VI.

Discouraging Situation.—Fr. Guardian's Consoling Letter.—Fr. Serra to Fr. Lasuén.—Fr. Lasuén's Lament.—Neve's Stupid Demand.—Its Disastrous Result.—Fr. Lasuén's Instructions on the Subject.—FF. Lasuén and Figuer Report on the Mission.—New Church.—Cemetery.—Church Goods.—Report of 1783.—Building Activities.—Agriculture.—Financial Contributions.—Fr. Serra's Newsy Letter.—Fr. Lasuén to Fr. Serra on Condition of the Mission.—Lt. Ortega Transferred to Santa Barbara.—San Diego Presidio.—Fr. Serra's Last Visit.—He Administers Confirmation.—He Bids Farewell.—Gov. Fages's Report.—Erroneous Statement.

CONDITIONS at Mission San Diego during the years 1778 and 1779 and the prospects for the future appeared so gloomy to Fathers Lasuén and Figuer that both applied for permission to retire to their College in Mexico. Several causes contributed to their discouragement. Provisions were not sufficient for the growing convert population; then the turbulence of the savage Indians made the Fathers fear for their wards and their mission; and finally, what was worst of all, Governor Neve's animosity and continual interference in mission affairs distressed them. Fr. Figuer's repeated complaints and petitions at last drew from Fr. Serra a beautiful letter,[1] on the receipt of which Fr. Figuer no longer had the heart to insist on retiring. He bravely remained on his post until death relieved him.

Fr. Lasuén, on the other hand, had applied directly to the College. But, like his fellow missionary, he abandoned every desire to return to Mexico, when he received the following fatherly reply from the Fr. Guardian:

In my soul I feel the affliction and hardships of Your Reverence, Fr. Rafael Verger wrote under date of January 14, 1780; but, my friend, it must be a consolation after all to know that you are toiling for the glory of the Lord and for the welfare of souls, expecting the while from His Divine Majesty that help and that reward for your

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[1] For this letter see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 385-389.

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labors which creatures deny us. Even though what we desire does not come to pass, God Himself will provide, that same Lord who in His inscrutable judgments permits the enemy to impede the realization of the good wishes with which He inspires us. Great undertakings have ever encountered great obstacles. What we have in those missions is of ample magnitude, and, therefore, there is no reason to be disheartened. Let us do what we can, my friend, and leave the rest to God. Your Reverence is very necessary in the service; even though your modesty will smile, I needs must tell you. Your Reverence has more experience, more deliberation in thought, etc., and so you will sacrifice yourself to the Lord. Here we do and shall do what we can, as well for the consolation of Your Reverence as for the advancement of those missions. . . . The four volumes *Leyes de Indias* leave here for you. The cost is nineteen dollars. The *Curia Filipica* has not yet been found, but it has been promised. I do not know what the price is; but Your Reverence need not worry about the price. I shall pay the whole amount for your mission. I will not burden you with Mass intentions, because keeping account of the Masses and their application at such a distance and when there is mail only once a year, does not appeal to me. Besides the cost of mailing would be six dollars.[2]

Fr. Lasuén had written on August 27, 1779, at a time when things looked desperate. Had he waited a month longer, he might not have addressed himself to Fr. Verger, at all. For Fr. Serra's letter, dated September 28, 1779, written in his usual happy strain, contrived to bring sunshine into the gloom.

With the greatest delight, he wrote, I have received the news from Your Reverence. Especially pleased am I with what you say about the happy delivery of Anna, sterile so many years;[3] I mean your fine mission with its many encouraging and copious fruits and blessings. Even more delighted am I with the fair prospects Your Reverence outlines to me, as also with your perseverance on observing that land was found suitable for wheat and other grain. Thanks be to God, already we are beginning to see, and within me I hear a voice saying with reference to it, *majora videbis*.[4] Therefore, in our labors let us confide in God, who is a father; He knows what we need and that should suffice. Your Reverence, behold the little field of our Father

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[2] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

[3] The allusion is to I Kings, cap. i.—For a long time, Mission San Diego had produced no converts.

[4] "You will see greater things." The allusion is to John i, 50.

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St. Francis. Nothing better could be offered to the Saints, who are now resting happily.[5]

Another cause for dejection was the meager fruit derived from their arduous missionary labors. This was due, Fr. Lasuén lamented, to the methods which had to be adopted at this particular mission of San Diego. Describing the situation twenty-three years later, he writes:

At that mission (San Diego) they keep just enough Indians to justify the place being called a mission and to make it a refuge to which those who stay at their rancherías can have recourse in their needs. What good has been achieved and what progress made? O my venerable Fr. Guardian! What anxiety! What despondency! What sleepless nights! What anguish! What daily and nightly toiling on the part of the missionaries! What licentiousness! What a change in the neophytes from Christian civility to heathen barbarity! . . . There is no doubt that in all the pagan rancherías heathen practices prevail. Who will remove the obstacles which the Christians encounter when they continue to live with their tribesmen at the very scenes of those heathen customs? And who will prevent them from joining their tribesmen or even from witnessing the orgies? Accustomed to their abominable feasts, and finding their recollections revived every hour, what place will they give to the catechism and to the obligations contracted in the Baptism they have received? They possess no energy to apply themselves to what is conducive to a rational, social, and civilized life. On the vigilance and incessant care of the missionaries it then depends whether or not the Indians observe what they have learned.

Let it be sincerely borne in mind, however, that if at San Diego, as in Lower California, that method is employed, it is through dire necessity; for those sterile lands by no means produce the provisions necessary to support all the neophytes together. This impossibility compels the missionaries to permit the Christians to live scattered in their rancherías, obliged to visit the mission only from time to time. To let them live in this way is thought to be a smaller evil than to let them remain pagans. It is a necessary evil, but the result is disastrous.[6]

A most serious cause for dissatisfaction was the demand of Governor Neve that the Indians of all the missions should annually elect an *alcalde* and two *regidores,* a sort of magistrate and councillors, and thus become accustomed to self-

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[5] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[6] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 586-588.

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government. These officials were to have a certain degree of authority and to be exempt from corporal punishment. When it is remembered that at San Diego the first Christian convert had emerged from the most degrading barbarism only eight years before, and that most of them had become Christians of a certain kind only within the last four years, one can not but be amazed at Neve's demand. As a piece of boys' play it might have passed, and the Fathers would have enjoyed the antics of their childish wards; but to insist on it as Neve did was sheer folly. As yet, the neophytes were no more capable of governing themselves, much less a whole community, than would be a band of overgrown, unruly schoolboys. Nor was there hope that for some years to come they could be allowed to manage their own affairs like the civilized whites. Indeed, at San Diego, Neve's plan would plainly have resulted in disaster, because the Indians lived at the mission only two weeks of each month. The premature experiment was introduced in a moderate form; but nowhere did it accrue to the benefit of the neophytes. Describing the consequences at the various missions, Fr. Serra writes: "Of San Diego I say nothing. There is much about which they (the missionaries) lamented with reference to the *alcaldes;* but it is fortunate that the presidio is close by. May God help them."[7] It was the disorders brought on by this regulation of the hostile Neve which especially had induced Fr. Lasuén to seek permission to retire from California. When later he himself became Superior of the missions, he, under date of November 2, 1796, instructed the missionaries to this effect: "Let the elections be held at a convenient hour, because his Honor so directs, but only in as far as it is possible at the missions for which there is no law determining it. In these missions we are preparing the neophytes for the fulfillment of the laws; as to their being governed by such laws, however, that must be postponed to the time when they cease to be missions

[7] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 336-344.

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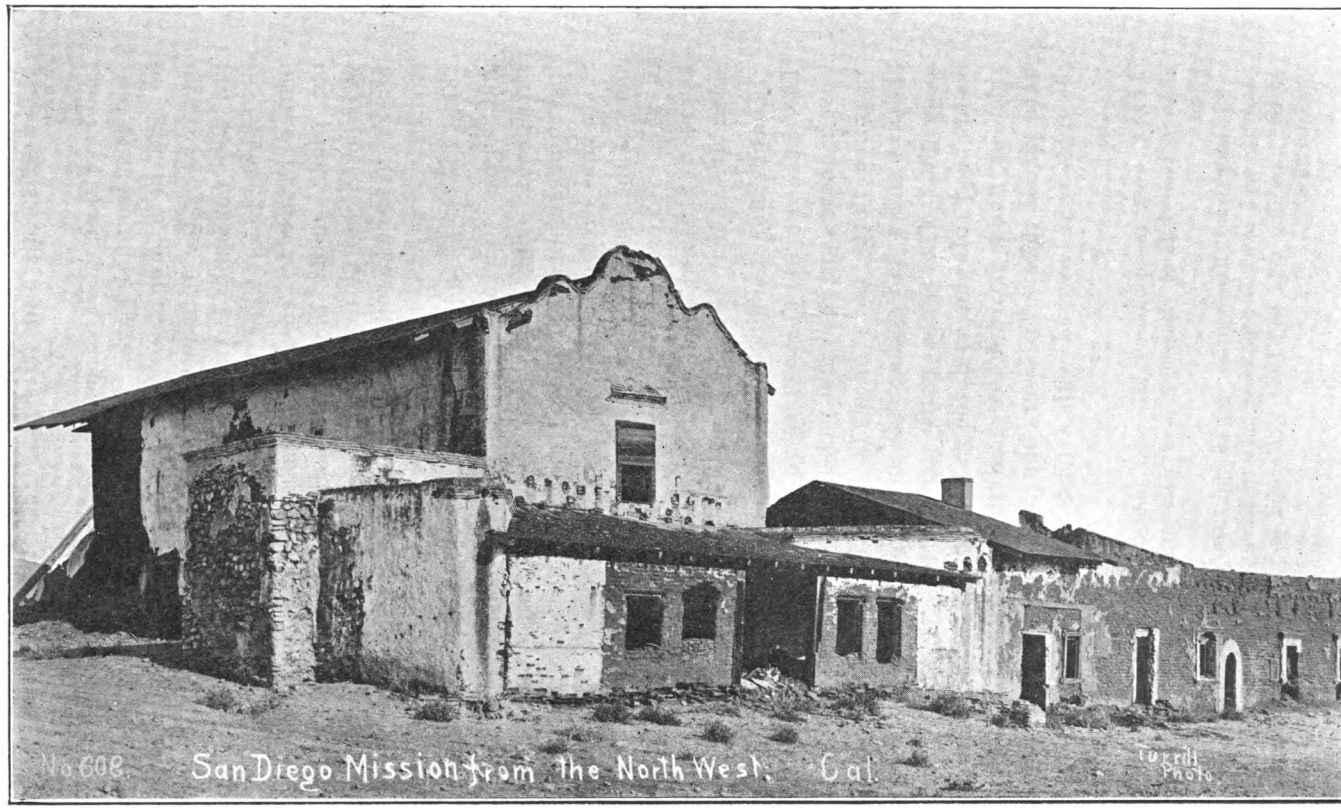

MISSION SAN DIEGO IN 1886

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and have been declared pueblos or doctrinas by the king.[8] And then we must leave. Meanwhile, the said elections may be held in a preparatory and instructive way, but by no means after the formality of the law quoted, because such law does not apply to the missions."[9] Hence at San Diego the nominations were thereafter given to those who had proved themselves capable of holding the respective office, but wholly under the control of the missionaries. They were instructed as to their duties and in this way prepared for the time when the mission should become a pueblo or parish.

For the year ending December 31, 1780, Fathers Lasuén and Figuer sign a lengthy and minute report to the Fr. Presidente. Holy Mass and Christian instruction was at that time regularly attended by 521 adult neophytes, that is, Indians over nine years of age. In addition, the Padrón showed the names of 150 Indian children under nine years of age. Accordingly, at the end of 1780, 671 Indians belonged to Mission San Diego. Live stock had increased considerably, as may be seen from the Tabular Reports.

Considerable building was done during the year 1780. The most important structure to rise on the arid hillside was a more spacious and substantial church. Inside, it measured thirty varas or about eighty-four feet in length and five and a half varas or about fifteen feet in width and in height. The adobe walls were three feet thick. The beams were of pine and the rafters of poplar. Poles of alder or rough boarding covered the rafters, and over all were placed tules. To insure the roof against another fire, the tules were covered with a mass of earth. An addition

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[8] i. e., when the neophytes had been judged sufficiently advanced to manage their affairs themselves and were able to support a secular priest.

[9] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 345-346. The Spanish law requiring such officials concerned only those missions that in the sense of the preceding note had been secularized and had thus become regular parishes.

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of eleven feet, inside measurement, having the same width and height as the church was used as sacristy. It had one window, while the church received sufficient light through four windows which, like the sacristy window, were protected on the outside by a grating of cedar wood. Within, each window had its shutters of planed boards. The doors in front of the church and on the side toward the courtyard were supplied with locks.

Along the entire length of the church and sacristy, on the north or Gospel side, lay the cemetery, which was ten varas or about thirty feet wide. The corridor that extended along the church and sacristy on the south or Epistle side in the courtyard was two and a quarter varas or about seven feet wide. Instead of stone pillars, posts of oak served as supports of the roof.

The whole work, especially the interior of the church, was neatly and elegantly done, as well as the knowledge of the local artisans and the means of the mission allowed. "Thanks be to God!" Fathers Lasuén and Figuer conclude their report with evident satisfaction and relief.

The church goods were augmented by the acquisition of four linen surplices for the altar boys, a number of corporals, a rich amice, a black stole for burials, and two sets of altar cards. "In the past year," the report relates, "we have sent to Tepic a classical but very old alb of the finest workmanship. It had undergone sacrilegious and vile handling from the rebel Indians in the year 1775. We sent it in order that from its material surplices be made and that its lace may serve to hide the faulty spots. This has been done, and it was returned to our complete satisfaction. Thanks be to God!"

Various new kitchen utensils were obtained as also implements for the field and for the workshops. The library was enriched with a copy of the Roman Martyrology and with a Mexican dictionary.[10]

Under the head of Granary or Storeroom and Distribu-

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[10] *S. B. Archives.*

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tion of Provisions, the Report for 1780 says: "At the close of 1779, the granary contained 240 fanegas or 400 bushels of wheat, 45 fanegas or 76 bushels of corn, and 7½ fanegas or 12 bushels of beans. Since then has been added what the harvest yielded and what was donated by other missions, as is mentioned in its place. With this the mission maintained all the Indians of both sexes of this ranchería, comprising 147 adults (not including the old men who regularly find occupation on the seashore and who go hunting when nothing is to be had there), the male and female children who can eat,[11] some from outside rancherías who have their turn to stay here for a week or more, according to their duties or their pleasure, the adults who are to be baptized during the period of their instruction, and all the sick and invalids who assemble here. All these were fed on 176 fanegas or 292 bushels of wheat, 43 fanegas or 85 bushels of barley, not including what has been planted of both kinds of grain, 91 fanegas or 152 bushels of corn, and about 10 fanegas or 17 bushels of beans.[12]

"Our own rations which were allowed us by the Reglamento Provisional[13] have been suspended by the governor (Neve) these last two years. He gave no other reason beyond the assumption that he had reported the matter to the higher authorities. Last month, on the occasion of his arrival here at the presidio of San Diego, I assured him that I was informed by letter of the Rev. Fr. Guardian, that His Excellency, the Viceroy of New Spain (Mexico) wished this subsidy to be extended to us. Nevertheless, the governor has not relieved us of the penance.[14] There remain at present about 200 fanegas or 333 bushels of wheat, 8 or 9 fanegas or about 12 bushels of small corn, 46 fanegas

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11 "Los parvulos de unos y otros, que pueden comer."

12 This does not include all that was dealt out to them; for meat also formed a staple.

13 See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 124; 279-294.

14 For Neve's contemptible action in this matter see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 121-125; 279-294.

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or 75 bushels of yellow corn from San Gabriel, and about 2 fanegas or 3 bushels of beans.

"Land was cleared for the sowing of six more fanegas of wheat. But a few days ago we had a heavy rainfall which filled the river bed and the lowlands where the wheat and barley had been planted. The ditch made last year was not deep enough to carry off the water. Consequently, a large part of the sowing has been destroyed. The Indians are now working hard to remedy the trouble for the present and to prevent similar disasters in the future." The Report also minutely enumerates what had been sown and harvested; this will all appear in the Tabular Report.[15]

No local reports were drawn up for the years 1781 and 1782. But in the following year, on May 10, Fr. Lasuen furnished Fr. Serra, at his request, a very lengthy and complete account of what had been achieved during the two preceding years. From this report we cull the following facts:

A granary had been built; it was twenty-five varas or seventy-one feet long and five and a half varas or about fifteen feet wide. Besides, the following structures had been erected;

a ravelin or high *entresol,* with two doors through which to ascend to its terrace;

a room eight varas or twenty-two feet long to be used to store away clothing and furniture;

a room six varas or seventeen feet long to be used as shelter and infirmary for the women; for their convenience and accommodation, it had its own courtyard or patio five yards in length and width;

a structure called the *pozolera,* five yards square, where the *pozole* or gruel was cooked; it served as a meeting place for the young men and boys, and sometimes one or the other infirm was sheltered here;

a small corral for the oven and firewood;

two rooms, each five yards and more in length, in which

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[15] *Informe,* December 31, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

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the missionaries live; it had a little corridor as shelter against the weather. The height of these various buildings was four varas or about eleven feet, except the ravelin which was five and a half varas or about fifteen feet high and a little more than five varas or fourteen feet wide. Other structures put up during the years 1781 and 1782 were

a room used as a refectory, about eleven feet long;

a room eight varas or twenty-two feet long, used as a common pantry;

two guest rooms, one eleven feet, the other seventeen feet in length;

a harness and saddle room, fourteen feet long. These rooms had the same width as the others, but they were hardly three varas or eight feet high. All were of adobe and the roof was covered with earth. They had doors with locks, except the *pozolera* where the gruel was prepared. A kitchen, a hennery, and a toilet were likewise erected at this time.

All these structures as also the soldiers' quarters occupied the three wings of a quadrangle. Each wing measured fifty-five varas or about 155 feet in length. The fourth side of this quadrangle was closed by a wall of adobe three varas or about eleven feet high, which at one end terminated in a ravelin a little more than a story high, by means of which and of the other ravelin, the four angles could easily be defended.

Outside this quadrangle was a tank, which had been built shortly before for tanning hides; then two corrals of adobe large enough to admit the sheep; and finally another adobe structure for the six or eight milch cows which the mission maintained. Most of the cattle as also the mares were in the valley of San Luis, two leagues distant.

"Down to late years," Fr. Lasuén reports, "building at the mission was done with some diffidence as to whether it would remain at this place. On account of its continual want and of the tragedy already related, progress and pros-

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pects did not correspond with the incessant labors expended. But observing that Christianity had notably increased, that it was necessary to preserve it, and that no suitable locality had been found where the converts might be collected, the missionaries have applied what human means were available in their endeavor to make it permanent and durable, a very difficult undertaking, inasmuch as little is wanting to declare that end unattainable without the aid of other means. Hence indescribable efforts have been made, though so far with meager success, to plant great stretches of land, to clear and to enclose it, to run irrigation ditches, and to perform the other fatiguing labor necessarily connected with such an undertaking."

Fr. Lasuén reports also that at his writing the Mission Records accounted for 966 baptisms, 232 marriages, and 216 deaths.[16]

How scrupulously the missionaries watched over these worldly matters, doubly disagreeable to their spiritual training and aspirations, may be seen from the exactness with which the Report enumerates the amounts due to the Mission. First are mentioned sixteen fanegas of wheat furnished to the troops, likewise two bulls, and two mules stolen by two deserting soldiers, and one horse and one mule, both of especial value. Then, in cash there are due to the Mission from the presidio and from individuals connected therewith $1,303.37. In addition, from the Monterey presidio store are due $184.88, which amount was bequeathed to the Mission for the Indians by the late José Urselino, and also $866, which, apparently his salary, Alejo Antonio Gonzales, who died March 19, 1780, had likewise willed to the Mission.[17]

"The goods (*Memorias*) sent from Mexico were valued

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[16] Fr. Lasuén to Fr. Serra, May 10, 1783. Bancroft Collection.

[17] Urselino had been mortally wounded at the affray of November 5, 1775. After five years, the money was still due to the Mission! Gonzales was one of the four soldiers in the same battle.

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at $521 and 5 reales (66½ cents). Of this sum, $235 is for articles ordered for the personal use of the Fathers, which include medicine, altar wine, and wax for the altar candles. The rest, consisting of dress goods and other articles, was distributed to the Indians. The freight charges amounted to $69, which together with the cost of the goods totals $590.05. Besides this, the Mission is charged $211.06, due for goods sent last year, and $53.05 for things sent from Tepic. The entire debt, therefore, is $856. To liquidate this we assigned our annual allowance of $800 [18] and the $9 on hand for alms. This leaves a debt on the Mission of $47, to be paid in Mexico.

"Mission San Diego has been aided by other establishments as follows: Mission San Juan Capistrano donated seven almudes of beans and six almudes of peas. Mission San Gabriel sent eighty-two fanegas of corn, three fanegas and four almudes of beans, and a crate of *melocotones.* When occasion offered, both missions have sent us onions, *ajos,* chile, tomatoes, watermelons, and sugar melons. Mission San Antonio sent us two fanegas of corn (*chico del Rio Colorado*) for planting. Mission San Carlos forwarded by ship twenty fanegas of barley. The Rev. Fr. Presidente and the other Fathers assisted us by celebrating two hundred holy Masses and allowing us the stipends.

"On the other hand, this Mission of San Diego gave to Mission San Juan Capistrano four half-tamed colts, two sacks filled with wool, *dos tascones, y un guijo grande de fierro con su platillo;* and it has supplied two arrobas of iron with the necessary carbon to reduce the points of the plow. It has loaned also expert Indians to assist the blacksmith at this work and at other little jobs. To Mission San Gabriel this mission gave two loads of salt, and *un tercio* of brown sugar; also twenty pounds of iron with the necessary carbon to work it into plow-points, and two trained Indians for the service of the blacksmith during the time of this work."

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[18] Each missionary was allowed $400.

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The Fathers conclude their long but highly important *Informe* with this *Nota:* "This year we have seen that it is necessary to take the cattle away from the Mission in order to raise grain and fruit there. Hence the cattle had to be removed to the Valley of San Luis, where the horses were kept. In the same place (it has been reported), a soldier of the presidio, without herdsmen and without corral, against the rights of the Indians and consequently against the will of the missionaries, keeps a herd of mares. If that is right, then anyone else may do the same, and in the end they will rob the Mission of the only locality that could serve as a rancho. But, if it is not right, then we supplicate that orders be given for the removal of the horses."

A delightful letter addressed by Fr. Serra to Fr. Lasuén on December 8, 1781, contains some items of interest about San Diego which are not found elsewhere.

My dear friend, Fr. Serra writes, blessed be the Most Holy Sacrament and the Most Pure Conception of our Mother and Lady, Mary Most Holy,[19] on whose day, or rather on whose night, I take up the pen which may run I do not know how long. Not long since I received the letter of Your Reverence, dated August 14. The news is all good. Thanks be to God, who, I pray, may reward Your Reverence for the consolation you afforded me through it.

The exercise of the faculty to confirm having been restored here recently,[20] I went anew to administer Confirmation in the Missions of San Antonio, San Francisco, and Santa Clara. Since then I wore my shoes, on account of an adventure I had with the mule while returning to this Mission of San Carlos; but they say that all my ribs are in place, and to-day the pain is already very much alleviated. Blessed be God for everything! . . .

I am much pleased with the celebration that attended the dedication of your holy temple. I congratulate Your Reverence. Thus far, San Antonio excelled, especially for its roof of tiles. It is in every way a beautiful church. It corresponds altogether with that of your Mission, if the latter, according to your description and what Lieu-

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[19] These are the words of the *Alabádo.* Fr. Serra had never before used them in a letter.

[20] For Neve's unworthy tactics in this matter see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 302-318.

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tenant Diego Gonzales reported, does not surpass it in neatness, beauty, and symmetry. I did not need the lieutenant's description of your holy temple, after I had seen Your Reverence's letter; but I adduce it in proof that I omit no occasion to speak of San Diego. Nor did it grieve me to hear the said gentleman speak so well of the Mission and of its Fathers, who see their Mission growing large. God repay also Fr. Pablo Mugártegui for the lustre he added to the joyful function.[21]

It is also very pleasant news, and like an aftermath of the foregoing, that seven fanegas of barley and about eight hundred fanegas of wheat have been harvested, besides the great heaps of beans and other pulse products. Here occurs to me the passage in Holy Scripture, "Their storehouse full, flowing out of this and that . . . Their oxen fat . . . after the similitude of a temple."[22] Do not let Fr. Pablo Mugártegui escape, but let it likewise go to my account. I hope that also the corn prospered and that the grapevines are living and thriving; for this lack of altar wine is already becoming unbearable. Soon we shall be without chocolate and without—snuff, which is painful. It cuts to the quick to see the Indians so poorly clad without prospects of even a breech-cloth and the soldiers so run down, despite the fact that his Honor (Neve) knows this and that the warehouse has an abundance of clothing. But worse than all this is the outlook that we shall be without holy Mass; for it is known that it will be long before a ship arrives. . . .

I have information that our brother Ortega goes to the Channel and that his son is corporal. . . . I should like to know the destination of our beloved Don Raphael.[23] Recommend me to said Don Raphael and to the Señora, Dona Josepha. . . .

Now it remains for me to inform Your Reverence of a matter so annoying as asking you, a poor man, for money; because it is true that the king, our lord, requests each Indian to pay him one dollar as a donation for war expenses. The Comandante-General says that in the missions they should pay it to the Fathers from the temporalities which the Indians have in common. . . . The Comandante-General is already notified that your Mission is poor. . . . You can plead your case by representing the poverty in a letter which should contain nothing else. It should not be a long letter; but it should be well drawn up for presentation wherever I may judge it expedient. God assist you.

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[21] Unfortunately, the date of its dedication can nowhere be found.

[22] Psalm 143, verses 13, 14, 12.

[23] Don Raphael Pedro y Gil, the storekeeper. He was also the *síndico* of the San Diego missionaries.

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I am in fairly good health. Poor Fr. Juan Crespi is in bad health. Fr. Dumetz is fat. Fr. Matias is well. I commend myself earnestly to my beloved Fr. Juan Figuer and to the other Fathers as also to Your Reverence. . . . This may suffice. God keep Your Reverence many years in health and in His holy grace. Mission San Carlos de Monterey, December 8, 1781. Your etc., Fr. Junípero Serra.[24]

On receipt of this letter, Fr. Lasuén set to work compiling the document which for its importance is reproduced almost entire. It reads as follows:

Very Rev. and much esteemed Fr. Presidente Junípero Serra:—After following the instructions regarding the Donativo demanded of these Indians of San Diego in the manner directed by Your Reverence, I now forward the report which on this particular subject you intimated should be sent to you and should state the actual condition of the Mission with all its poverty and drawbacks. At sight of it, Your Reverence will determine what seems best and your judgment shall be our rule of action.

With regard to the case in question, the Comandante-General expressly assigns three causes which would exempt the missions from contributing to the *Donativo* or War Tax; viz., sterility of soil, epidemics among the neophytes, and hostility of the Indians. Thanks be to God, at present we are not suffering from an epidemic. But, as past years demonstrate, the hostility of the Indians is a constant cause for alarm; while the sterility of the land is palpable and manifest to every one. This was made clear to the Comandante-General by Lieutenant José Francisco de Ortega in the year 1777. At that time he described this region as most sterile, barren, and unfruitful, lacking humidity as well as irrigation facilities, so that planting grain was always a risk, owing to the uncertain rains. Hence it would be more in place if the king were to assign to this mission a subsidy of 100 or 200 fanegas of corn, which His Majesty's ships, when transporting supplies to the presidio, ought also to bring here. Your Reverence will remember that you yourself once proposed precisely what I am now soliciting with such earnestness. You will remember also how on my arrival here, when I told you that I had my misgivings as to whether what you proposed would be carried out, you replied with vigorous and strong determination, "If they do not concede this to me, we will abandon this port."[25]

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[24] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*—Like a solicitous father, Fr. Serra adapts his communications to the mood of the recipient—always sympathetic, encouraging, never harsh.

[25] "V. R. me respondio con una valiente y resolutiva entereza: Si no me lo conceden, levantarémos el puerto."

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It is our opinion, esteemed Father, that in the whole world there is not a hospital that suffers greater want and possesses smaller and more uncertain funds than our village here; and that the greatest service rendered to the king in this country is the holding of the Port of San Diego by means of this apology for a mission. The site is avowedly unfit and useless for a mission establishment, if it is to be deprived of all government aid and hampered by the additional burden of having to minister to the presidio, so that on the plea of parsimony the royal treasury may save the expense of a chaplain's salary.

The pagans are numerous, while the Christian flock is small. Of these, the majority live scattered in the mountains and along the beach after the manner of savages. Only a small proportion are gathered here and live like Christians. The majority as a rule are troublesome, the rest live only for their own benefit. Most of them wear no other clothing than a breech-cloth, which scantily hides their nakedness; only a small portion wear overalls of coarse cloth. And for neither party are the rations sufficient to satisfy the habit of voracious eating in which they have been raised; not one is willing to put the least restraint on his appetite. And when no recourse is taken to fishing and hunting, they live on rats, mice, snakes, vipers and similar reptiles and insects; or on acorns and other loathsome and unpalatable seeds, which only the power of water and fire can render fit to be eaten.[26]

I conclude, Reverend dear Father, by saying with the sincerity of a religious that I should have much more to say and that I feel strongly inclined to say it with the hard will of a Spaniard. But since under distressing circumstances as these it is best to conform to the will of the sovereign and his representatives, let us hope that this essential condition, namely, their will, be clearly defined; and that whatever may be ordained in our behalf in view of this true information, may be executed very soon. Mission San Diego, January 9, 1782.—Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuén.[27]

According to a communication of Governor Fages, dated September 20, 1783, Fr. Serra petitioned for exemption from the war tax in behalf of both San Diego and San Juan Capistrano. And, in December, 1783, Fages wrote to Fr. Serra, saying that the Comandante-General had among other things written to him as follows: "The Mission of Loreto has not contributed anything whatever to the *Dona-*

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[26] The San Diego Indians were poor material, indeed, out of which to make Christians and citizens.

[27] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

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tivo, because of its poverty. Those of San Diego and San Juan Capistrano ask for exemption on the same plea, on which point I refrained from taking steps until they should direct their petition through you." [28]

Fr. Serra was well informed when he stated that Lieutenant José Francisco de Ortega would be transferred to Santa Barbara Channel. He became commander of the new presidio, which was established at what is now Santa Barbara, on April 21, 1782. On that occasion, Fr. Serra himself raised and blessed the Cross which marked the site of the presidio chapel. Ortega was succeeded at San Diego by Lieutenant José de Zuñiga. Don Pedro Fages, who early in 1782 made the first recorded trip from the Rio Colorado to San Diego, in September of that year, succeeded Felipe de Neve as governor.

"The presidial force, by regulation at least," Bancroft writes, "consisted of five corporals and forty-six soldiers, a sergeant, and a lieutenant. Six men were constantly on duty at each of the three missions of the district, San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel, while four served at the town of Los Angeles, thus leaving a sergeant, two corporals, and about twenty-five men to garrison the military post, to care for the horses and small herd of cattle, and to carry the mail, which latter duty in the time of peace was the hardest connected with the presidio. The post constantly employed a carpenter and a blacksmith, besides a few servants, mostly natives.

"Respecting the presidio buildings," the same author continues, "the records are silent, but I suppose that the palisades were at least replaced by an adobe wall enclosing the necessary buildings, public and private. Here on the hill lived about one hundred and twenty-five persons, men, women, and children. Each year in summer or early in autumn one of the transport vessels entered the harbor and landed a year's supplies at the *embarcadero* several miles down the bay, to be brought up by the presidio mules.

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[28] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

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Every week or two, small parties of soldier couriers arrived from Loreto in the south, or Monterey in the north, with ponderous despatches for officials here and to the north, and with items of news for all. Each day of festival a friar came over from the mission to say Mass and otherwise care for the spiritual interests of soldiers and their families; and thus the time dragged on from day to day and year to year, with hardly a ripple on the sea of monotony." [29]

In September, 1783, Fr. Presidente Serra once more visited San Diego for the purpose of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation. He felt that his end was near and that this was the last time he should see his beloved San Diego. In his personal Journal of Confirmations, the venerable Father notes what occurred on this visit.

"On September 14, 1783," he writes, "on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, the third Sunday of the month and, therefore, the feast of the Sorrow of the Most Holy Mary, on which day, thanks be to God, I completed *fifty-three years in the religious habit,* in the mission church of San Diego de Nípaguay, a few days after I arrived by sea at this port, after my High Mass, etc., the missionaries being Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuén and Fr. Juan Figuer, I confirmed one hundred and twenty-four persons; on Sunday, 21, thirty-one; on Friday, 26, five; on Sunday, 28, fourteen; on St. Michael's Day, September 29, in the church of the royal presidio of San Diego, Fr. Lasuén assisting, four neophytes from the mission and thirty-four of the settlers and troops; on September 30, at the mission, five; on October 5, Rosary Sunday, fifteen; on October 6, one; in all, therefore, two hundred and thirty-three persons."

Then, bidding the two Fathers a last affectionate farewell, Fr. Serra, on October 7, left the mission he had founded fourteen years before and proceeded to the next

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[29] Bancroft, *California,* i, pp. 452-453.

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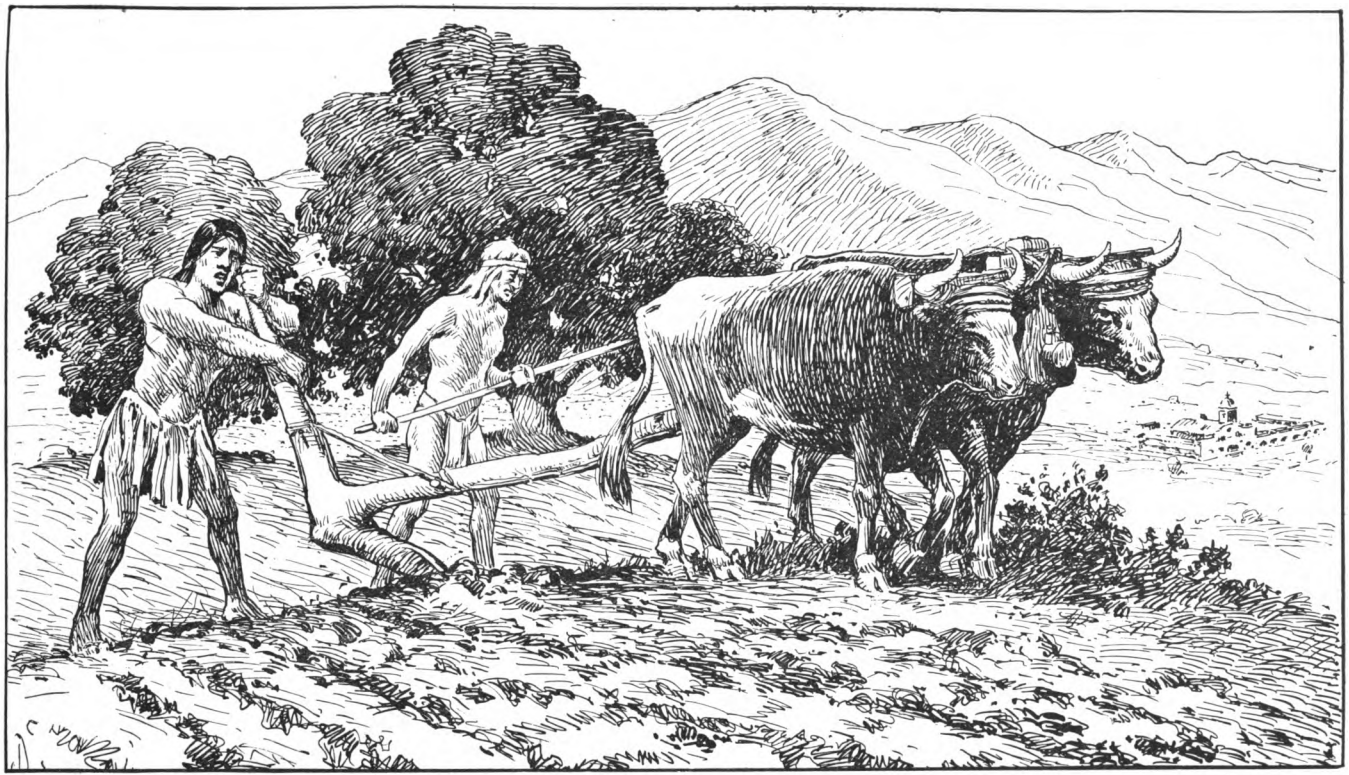

PRIMITIVE PLOUGH—ANOTHER CAUSE OF POOR CROPS

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mission, San Juan Capistrano. Here and subsequently at all the other mission establishments, he administered Confirmation and consoled his brethren, until he reached his beloved Mission San Carlos, near Monterey, where, on August 28, 1784, he passed to his eternal reward.[30] Fr. Francisco Palóu, being vice-presidente, acted as Superior of the missions until September, 1785, when the documents arrived appointing Fr. Lasuén Presidente of the California Missions. This necessitated his transfer to Mission San Carlos. Fr. Figuer died December 19, 1784. From then until the arrival of Fr. Antonio Garcia Riobó in the following September, Fr. Lasuén was alone at San Diego. His last entry in the Baptismal Register is number 1,169, made on December 5, 1785. It seems he journeyed to San Carlos Mission by land, visiting the other missions on the way. On January 3, 1786, he administered Baptism at Mission San Antonio.[31] He was replaced at Mission San Diego by Fr. Juan Mariner, who baptized for the first time on December 5, 1785. Fr. Riobó remained till November, 1786, when Fr. Hilário Torrent succeeded him. Thereafter, for a good many years, Fathers Mariner and Torrent labored together at San Diego with much success.

Reporting on the situation at San Diego in 1787, Governor Pedro Fages in accord with Fr. Lasuén's statements earlier in this chapter, wrote as follows: "The Mission of San Diego which for a time in the beginning, was located on the same plat with the presidio of that name, maintained itself there for five years. But experience showed that the great labors there met with little success, because the sandy soil lacked every facility for irrigation. The place was found to be suitable for a garrison, however, the maintenance and permanence of which were secured through the magnanimous support of the great king of Spain.

"For this reason and to have better fields for agriculture, they moved the mission two leagues toward the northeast,

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[30] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 390-400.

[31] *Baptismal Record*, Mission San Antonio.

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taking care, however, to place it as little away from the presidio as possible, partly that it might be more secure, and partly that the presidio might have the spiritual administration of the missionaries near enough at hand. Although there is no water source serviceable for irrigation within ten or twelve leagues, and this locality equally lacks that essential requisite, it was ventured to found this mission there, despite the fact that only by dint of extraordinary efforts it can subsist, increase, and be governed after the manner of a mission.

"A year and a half after transplanting the mission to this place, it was entirely destroyed by the neophytes and the pagans, one missionary and two mechanics being killed. For this reason the Fathers returned to the presidio and stayed there for the space of an entire year, whereupon the mission was rebuilt on its ruins and has thus been continued. The pagans of the district are most numerous. In the beginning they resisted conversion as they did nowhere else. But afterwards they subjected themselves with such rapidity that this was the first of the missions to count one thousand baptized converts.

"Owing to the scarcity of provisions, which generally follows in the wake of a new mission, as also to the distance from every base of supplies, it became necessary to allow the new Christians to continue to live in their rancherías as they did before their conversion, and to subsist upon the wild product of the land and on what was graciously given them at the mission. This method was always observed until the year 1779. The result was that of four hundred or more neophytes scarcely twenty could receive regular rations; nor could they be maintained together during the regular Christian instruction. In the meantime, there was a continuous struggle to make the land productive. The missionaries, having to deny their neophytes the provisions whilst the Indians were increasing the acreage, stormed Heaven with ceaseless petitions for rains, whenever their fields needed them, until they succeeded. Thus it is that since 1779 some good harvests have been gathered,

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Christians have increased, and the Fathers have succeeded in collecting at the mission about one-half of their converts. Here they are kept, receiving three regular meals a day as at the other missions, attending Christian instruction every day, and accustoming themselves to labor.

"The same cannot be said of the other half of converts, because the harvests do not suffice to maintain them. . . . Those of the mission remain at their native rancherías, but they are obliged from fifteen to seventeen days to attend holy Mass, to recite the prayers in common, to receive instructions in their Christian duties, and to accept correction or reproof for transgressions. However, the missionaries regularly experience great neglect with regard to attendance at holy Mass and at the divine services. Still, they punish only those who relapse and who are willfully negligent.

"Indeed, this tribe, which among those discovered is the most numerous, is also the most restless, stubborn, haughty, warlike, and hostile toward us, absolutely opposed to all rational subjection and full of the spirit of independence. The truth is that by the indefatigable tolerance and prudence of the missionaries together with their constant gentleness and other apostolic traits [32] and supported by corresponding and opportune solicitude of the government, the Indians have been kept quiet, peaceful, and subdued for seven or eight years. Nevertheless, it must not be overlooked that a considerable armed force must needs be at hand in sufficient numbers to repress their natural and crusty pride. Along the road to Monterey, the language of this tribe is spoken, till about midway between this and the next mission, San Juan Capistrano." [33]

Being himself the government of California, one can hardly blame Fages for desiring to appear as furthering the great and toilsome efforts of the missionaries and for

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[32] "Verdad es que con la incansable tolerancia y prudencia de sus Misioneros con sus continuos agasajos y otros apostolicos arbitrios."

[33] Fages, *Informe General Sobre Misiones*, Bancroft Collection, nos. 6-12.

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wanting the Mexican Government to stand out as solicitous for the missions as such. Nevertheless, though the Mexican Government manifested some solicitude by making numerous regulations, it practically allowed the missionaries to be thrown upon their own resources. As for Fages, he later did much to render the life of the Fathers miserable, instead of giving them all possible assistance. In proof of this, we must refer the reader to the second volume of the General History. All the help that the missionaries received was a guard, and that was the only expense the Mexican Government incurred in behalf of the missions. Nor was that anything to boast of; for by keeping the Indians quiet, and later on by supporting through them the whole governmental fabric of California, the Franciscans were securing the territory for the crown of Spain and for Mexico. Surely, to prevent the missionaries from being murdered by the Indians was under such circumstances in the interest of the higher Government, and it can scarcely be called assisting the missions for the sake of the missions. Generally, as the years rolled on, the soldiers by their bad example actually handicapped the missionaries. Indeed, a year before Fages made his report, the Mexican Government charged the governor to "preserve the Indians in their simplicity, subordination, and discipline"; to have especially his troops themselves show discipline, "inasmuch as the soldiers serve only in the present system for the purpose of infusing respect, of giving good example to the Indians, and of chastising with prudence the excesses they might commit."[34] The execution of such instructions would have been sufficient to lighten the work of the Fathers; but, as the reader will learn from the General History, on the part of the soldiers commands and their execution were two different things.

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[34] "Las tropas que solo sirven en el sistema presente para infundir respecto, dar buen exemplo a los Indios, castigar con prudencia los excesos que cometan."—*Instruccion of Viceroy Conde de Gálvez*, Mexico, August 20, 1787. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

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CHAPTER VII.

Unworldly Missionaries.—Mission Hospitality.—First Converts.—Obstacles to Conversion.—Baptismal Entries.—Methods Employed.—The Doctrina Christiana.—Divine Services.—The *Our Father* in Indian.—Sick Calls.—Specimen Baptismal Entry.—Sponsors.—Marriage Entries.—Some Mission Stations.—Some Marriages at the Presidio.—Fr. Serra's First Confirmation Visit.—Burial of Fr. Juan Figuer.

IT is unfortunate for the thorough understanding of Franciscan missionary activity in California that the Fathers neglected to transmit to posterity a detailed account of what they personally experienced while exercising the ministry among the natives. Such recitals of the difficulties they encountered, of the sufferings they endured, of the occasional joys and the more frequent sorrows they experienced, of incidents connected with the conversions they effected—all this would have aroused sympathy and veneration and would have thrown a strong light on various phases of the mission life which those sandaled messengers of the Gospel so zealously embraced. But these men of God, clad in the grey habit of their Order, meant and proved to be true heralds of Christ and His holy Law; and for this very reason they thought of nothing less than to put down in writing what to-day would be so interesting and edifying. They had tidings of great import to communicate, and that to a people who had first to be educated before they could be made to prize it. In this task they were wholly absorbed to the exclusion of all extraneous interests. Hence it is that, after compiling the Annual Reports and refuting occasional hostile charges, the Fathers did not perceive why they should devote their time, even if there had been a surplus of it, to a matter that they regarded as of no consequence to the spiritual and temporal advancement of their wards. For these they lived and labored, sacrificed themselves and all that was near and dear to them. They re-

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frained even from writing descriptive letters to relatives and friends, a matter so human in itself and often so ample a source of joy and consolation.

Ordinarily, therefore, it is next to impossible fully to realize the obstacles which the Franciscan missionaries in California had to face at every turn. Nor is it likely that posterity will ever accord them that well-earned sympathy and praise which they would receive had they been less wrapped up in their charges. Still, much may be discovered and much more inferred from the Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, which happily have escaped the ravages of time. These manuscript folios in flexible leather covers, uniform at all the missions, contain a mass of facts in skeleton. A detailed account of the facts and data would fill many chapters of highly instructive information concerning persons, places, and events that have become notable in the history of California. We shall utilize this important fountain in order to elucidate or supplement our narrative down to the year 1800.

As already mentioned, in erecting the various buildings provisions were made for guest rooms. This is a feature common to all the mission establishments, from San Diego to the northernmost, in Sonoma County, San Francisco Solano, about seven hundred miles distant. As Robinson and other visitors aver, a traveler could knock at the doors of Mission San Diego and be sure of a hearty welcome without being subjected to any but the most conventional questions. The best meals an Indian youth could prepare were set before him; he was offered a fresh clean bed; and the next morning or, if it pleased him, the following week, he could set out for the next mission on a fresh horse from the mission corrals, accompanied by an Indian boy, who was to bring back the horse, since another would be at the traveler's service at the next mission. There were no charges, nor was anything accepted as compensation. Such was Franciscan hospitality during mission times down to the unhappy days of confiscation. All travelers delight in repeating what kindly treatment was accorded them by

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the "Old Padres," who would bid the weary wanderer a cordial welcome, and on his leaving as hearty a farewell with the request to come again. Then the whole-souled and unassuming friar would return to his charges, happy in the thought of having given food and shelter to a fellow being, and thereby fulfilled the command of the Apostle, "Let the charity of the brotherhood abide in you; and hospitality do not forget; for by this some, not being aware of it, have entertained angels."[1]

It will be remembered how in his zeal for souls Fr. Serra thought that by persuading but one of the savages to bring a child for Baptism, he could break down the barrier of hostility and indifference which kept them aloof from the missionaries. How sadly the good Father failed has already been related. About one year later, however, the persistent affection displayed by Fathers Paterna and Gómez at last conquered some of the savages. The exact date of their Baptism could not be recalled when in 1776 the destroyed Mission Registers were reconstructed; but the respective persons and their parents were still living and thus the first entry which had been made by Fr. Serra himself with fifteen others could be reproduced. It reads as follows: "At this Mission of San Diego of Alcalá in Upper California, the first to be baptized by said Fathers was a boy three years of age, with the consent of his parents, who at present are Christians, named Carlos and Praxedis, of this Ranchería of San Diego. The name imposed was Francisco Antonio. His sponsor was Juan Corrion, an Indian of Mission Santa Gertrudis, Lower California, who was instructed as to his relationship and obligations."

Doubtless, that April day, 1770, brought to Fathers Paterna and Gómez the first genuine happiness enjoyed at San Diego, when they could present to the Creator the first Christian of the Mission. Their joy may be likened to the happiness of the mother who forgot all her anguish

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[1] *Hebrews*, xiii, 1-2.

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for the joy that a man was born into the world.[2] From then on, similar pleasures multiplied, but only at the cost of similar prayers, mortifications, and self-denials; for the savage is fickle everywhere. What patience, prudence, and firmness must be exercised to attract, persuade, and retain him! Furthermore, if seven years of age or older, the Indian must be instructed and induced to forswear the gratification of unlawful carnal appetites, to abandon wicked connections, and to devote himself to the manual labor necessary for the support of himself and family. At first, it was the ever ready *pozole* and *atole* that would attract him; but this craving for material gifts, all that he could grasp for the present, had to be transformed into an intelligent desire for supernatural advantages not visible to the corporal eyes. When at last he yielded, he had to be willing to surrender his savage liberty, to enlist in the Christian army, and to fulfill the duties of Christian and civilized life like white people, and all this not for a time, or while food was plenty, but for ever. Who can comprehend the patience required to advance such a superlatively dull, carnal, and indolent people to that stage of intelligence and determination? Only men, like these friars, who had relinquished every claim to worldly compensation and recognition, could have persevered; and only such as they could have transformed those lowest human beings by the thousands into peaceful, industrious, and faithful Christians, and that in the face of opposition, bad example, and persecution on the part of those who were expected to assist them at least negatively in their noble work.

Generally, Baptism was administered to one individual at a time. Infants, for instance, were taken to the sacred font on the very day of their birth or on the day following. It was the rule to bestow on the child the name of the saint whose feast was celebrated on that day. Hence, if any one had forgotten the day of his birth, he had but to see

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[2] The allusion is to John, xvi, 21.

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on what date the feast of his patron saint occurred; for that would also be his birthday. The entries regularly state the age, date, and serial number, whether single or married, and add the names of the parents, of the native ranchería, and of the sponsors; they close with the signature of the officiating priest.

Very frequently, large numbers of converts would apply for Baptism at the same time. This was especially the case in 1777, the year after the restoration of the mission. Fr. Serra had prophesied correctly when he remarked that now, the soil having been irrigated by the blood of a martyr, Fr. Luis Jaume, converts would be numerous. Thus, for instance, on November 24, 1777, Fathers Lasuén and Figuer entered numbers 559-581, thirty-two names. This would indicate that a whole class of catechumens had finished their period of rudimentary instruction and probation, and had been judged sufficiently informed on the obligations they contracted by becoming Christians. Such an occasion was made as solemn as possible and the lengthy ceremonies prescribed in the Ritual for the Baptism of Adults were strictly observed, creating a scene never to be forgotten.

In the case of adults, one of the Fathers baptized the men, while the other administered the Sacrament to the women, of course, always in church. Very probably, the men and women had also been instructed separately, except on Sundays when all assembled in the church for the Doctrina. Just before the assault on the mission, which took place in November, 1775, a great many neophytes had been admitted to the bosom of the Church, which fact, Fr. Palóu claims, aroused the powers of darkness and brought about the destruction of the mission. "On the first, second, third, and fourth of October, 1775," Fr. Fuster writes, "when Fr. Luis Jaume and I were stationed at San Diego Mission, and the Fathers Fermin Francisco de Lasuén and Gregorio Amúrrio[3] temporarily tarried here, prior to their going to

[3] Fr. Fuster writes from memory which in this instance fails him. Fr. Amúrrio came later.

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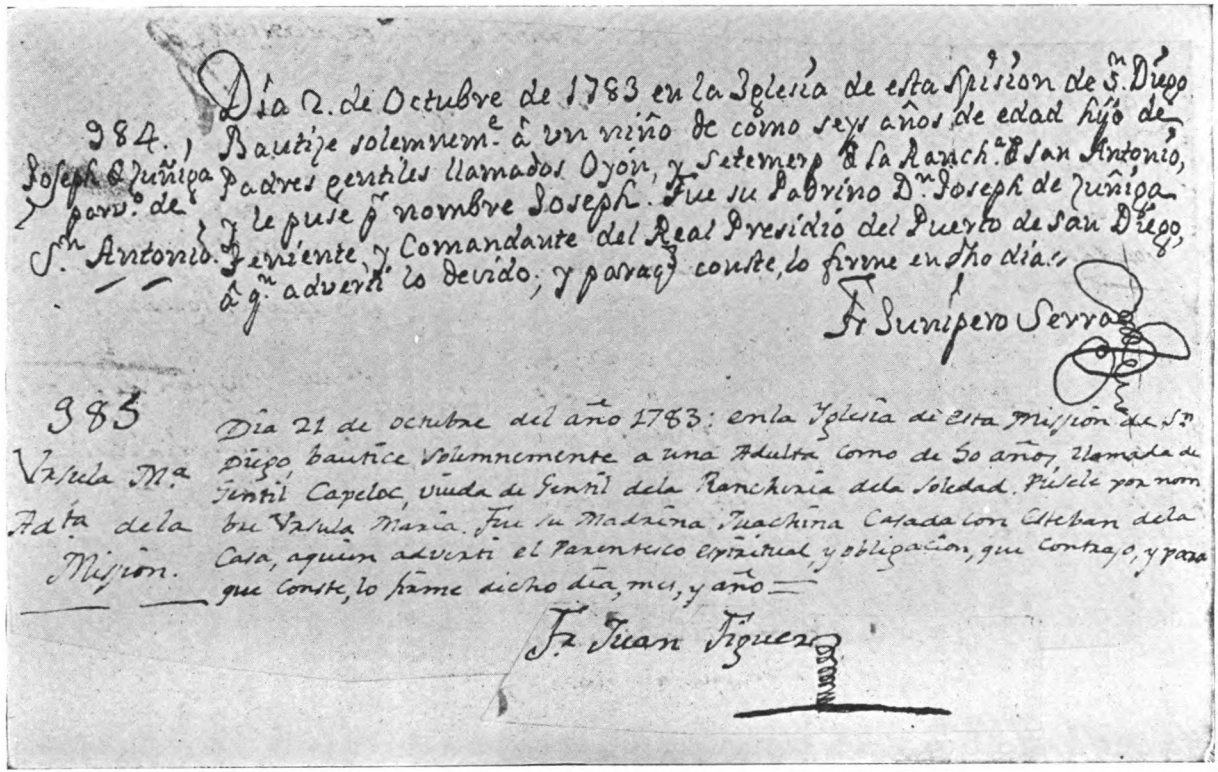

984. Joseph Zuñiga paro. de S.n Antonio.

Dia 2. de Octubre de 1783 en la Iglesia de esta Mision de S.n Diego Bautise solemnem.te â un niño de como seys años de edad hijo de Padres gentiles llamados Oyon, y Setemerp de la Ranch.a de San Antonio, le puse p.r nombre Joseph. Fue su Padrino D.n Joseph de Zuñiga Teniente, y Comandante del Real Presidio del Puerto de San Diego, â q.n adverti lo devido, y para q.e conste, lo firme en dho dia.

Fr Junipero Serra

983 Vrsula M.a Ad.ta de la Mision.

Dia 21 de octubre del año 1783: en la Iglesia de esta Mision de S.n Diego bautice solemnemente a una Adulta como de 50 años, llamada de Gentil Capeloc, viuda de Gentil de la Ranchiria de la Soledad. Pusele por nombre Vrsula Maria. Fue su Madrina Juachina Casada con Esteban de la Casa, aquien adverti el Parentesco Espiritual, y obligacion, que contraje, y para que conste, lo firme dicho dia, mes, y año —

Fr Juan Figuer

SPECIMEN ENTRIES IN THE BAPTISMAL REGISTER

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found Mission San Juan Capistrano, we four Fathers on the said four days baptized the converts from the rancherías of San Luis Obispo or Coapan, San Miguel or Janat, San Jacomé de la Marca or Jamocha, San Juan Capistrano or Matamó, and San Jorje or Neti. It was accomplished in this way; one Father baptized the male children, another the female children; the third administered the Sacrament to the adult men and the fourth to the adult women. I endeavored to ascertain who was baptized by any particular Father, but neither the Indians remembered nor do I remember whom I baptized or whether they were adults or children; neither do the sponsors remember. However, I believe that those baptized from October 1 to 4 by the said Fathers are those I herewith enter in the register, numbers 331-422." Fr. Fuster then puts down the names of the ninety-one whom he could discover, omitting what could not be stated with certainty.

In this case where so many were baptized on the same day, the name can point neither to the day of birth nor to that of Baptism. In order to secure for each the name of a saint, the calendar was referred to without regard to the day on which the feast of the saint was celebrated.

Instructing these converts, especially the adults, in the rudiments of religion was a most laborious task, the more so as the missionaries had to see that their pupils never suffered from hunger. Indeed, it was through the stomach that the Indians were gained for Religion. Only after the Indians had received gifts from the missionaries and felt satisfied that Christianity would provide food and clothing much better than paganism, could the Fathers hope gradually to ennoble and supernaturalize and firmly ground the Indians' half-hearted desire for Baptism. Therefore, they found themselves obliged to feed, clothe, employ, and even divert their overgrown dusky children. To facilitate matters, one of the two missionaries would shoulder the disagreeable task of managing the material side of mission activity, so that the other could devote himself more especially to the spiritual side. There was no iron-clad rule,

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however; the work was fraternally divided and in cases of emergency, the one Father would assist the other.

Concerning the subject-matter which the Indians had to learn and repeat again and again until they knew it by heart, the mission regulation demanded that the convert know how to make the Sign of the Cross and to recite the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Apostles' Creed; an Act of Contrition and the Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity; the Confiteor for Confession, the Ten Commandments of God, the Precepts of the Church, the Seven Sacraments, the Six Necessary Points of Faith, and the Four Last Things. This constituted what throughout Mission History is known as the Doctrina Christiana, truly much more than ninety-five per cent. of our modern white pagans can recite, although they call themselves Christians. The *Alabado,* used on all occasion, would close the instruction.

This Doctrina was recited every morning during or after holy Mass and again in the evening before retiring. Without burdening the mind or rendering the task disagreeable, even the dullest Indian would in this way gradually learn to recite the entire groundwork of the Christian Religion, would know what he must believe and what he must do in order to secure his eternal salvation.

This Doctrina was taught and learned in Spanish, a language which in the beginning the Indian did not understand; wherefore they neither understood the doctrines. In the first years, however, that made no difference. The Indians learned Spanish and the Fathers by degrees learned the language of their respective charges. In our schools, the children learn many things they do not understand. Until their mind is able to grasp what now appears to be mysteries, they take their teacher's word for whatever is unintelligible. Now, these Indians were but overgrown children, and as to intellect most of them remained children. The chief thing was to have a uniform groundwork on which to build the superstructure of intelligent knowledge and ready observance. In schools, the alphabet and figures serve a similar purpose. On Sunday afternoons and at

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processions, etc., the Rosary would be recited in common and the Litany of the Blessed Virgin would be sung or recited. But neither of the two taxed the brain, since the former consisted of only the Apostles' Creed and a specified number of *Paters* and *Aves*. After the grown people had departed and in the afternoon, the children would have their time for instruction in the Doctrina.

Every Sunday and Holyday of obligation, during the principal holy Mass, the sermon or instruction turned on some point of the Doctrina. This was explained point by point until it was well understood, a thing that with some, especially with the older Indians, hardly ever came to pass. It was not in them, as we say, very many remaining children even at eighty and more. Nor was it absolutely necessary, as long as they understood the rudiments which was all that many could grasp. Even in civil matters there are numbers of Indians who in spite of long years of intercourse with whites are still and always will remain children. First the Fathers would speak on the respective point of the Doctrina in Spanish, and an interpreter would repeat in Indian what he had said. That sufficed as far as the rudiments of Faith and the necessary duties were concerned. Later, the missionaries would explain the matter in Indian. Some of the Fathers became very proficient in the native idioms. On the other hand, the Indians learned Spanish; in fact, the children and the men, but only exceptionally the women, spoke Castilian very well. At any rate, there was no more doubt about understanding what was taught. The *Our Father* and *Hail Mary* was translated into the language of the natives at all the missions, as Mofras proves.[4] We have tried, in vain however, to verify Mofras's version.

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[4] The *Our Father* in the language of the San Diego Mission Indians runs as follows, according to Duflot de Mofras: "Nagua anall amaí tacaguach naguanetuuxp mamamulpo cayuca amaíbo mamatam meyayam canaao amat amaibo quexuic echasau naguaguí ñañacachon ñaquin ñípil meñeque pachís echeyuchapo ñagua quexuíc ñaguaích ñacaguaihpo

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A great deal of singing was done at the missions. In time, the men formed choirs and on all the feasts of the year they sang, of course in Latin, the parts of the Mass and the Vespers. Many of the hymns, however, were Spanish. Naturally, all this demanded that the Indian learn to read and write. A number of boys served the priests at the altar. For this the brightest were chosen, and as a matter of course they learned to read Latin and Spanish. The *Alabado* figured on all occasions.

Catechetical instructions grew very trying in cases where the Fathers had to travel great distances from the mission to give them. This was especially so when both Fathers were needed at home. If the missionary could not return before night, he as well as the accompanying soldier encountered the military regulation that forbade the guard to be away from headquarters during the night. Strong reasons would have to be brought to bear on the reluctant commander whenever the missionary had to attend to these outside duties. As far as he was concerned, the Father would have dispensed with a guard and faced any danger single-handed for the sake of a soul; but the royal regulations also affected the priest. Hence, the salvation of a soul depended to a great extent on the good wishes of the military authorities, without whose leave no soldier was permitted to stay away from his quarters over night or for more than one day. The reader will observe, therefore, that the missionaries were not at liberty to do as they pleased. Later, in order that the Father might not be hampered in the exercise of his office, these military regulations were somewhat relaxed, so as to allow the soldier to be absent with the priest according to the latter's discretion.

The occasions which called the missionaries away from San Diego were quite frequent during the thirty years that elapsed before Mission San Luis Rey was established. Two incidents of this kind will suffice to show what sacrifices were demanded of the Fathers.

ñamechamel anipuchuch-guelích-cuíapo. Nacuíuchpambo-cuchlích-cuíatpo-ñamat. Napuíjá.'' (Vol. ii, p. 395.)

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"On Christmas night," Fr. Lasuén writes, "in the year of our Lord the Son of God, 1783, at the ranchería called Guechi by its inhabitants but by us San Juan Capistrano El Viejo, after about two hours of instruction in the catechism, '*and when the night was in the midst of her course*'[5], a little earlier or later, I baptized privately *on account of danger of death Paschal,* the capitano of said ranchería, aged sixty or seventy years. I gave him the name Juan Maria Capistrano of the Infant God. I had been called from this Mission of San Diego at the request of the sick man by one of his sons. The latter begged hard and he employed expressions little expected in a barbarian, inasmuch as they were worthy of a man who comprehended and who ardently and urgently desired his greater and only true good."[6]

This was a Christmas gift bestowed by the Lord than which a missionary could desire no greater. Fr. Lasuén, who was the senior missionary at San Diego and who relates the incident, must surely have rejoiced and felt himself richly repaid for the long journey of forty-five miles that called him away from his children on Christmas day. Yet the good Father smothered his feelings and merely stated the bare facts in the Baptismal Book under date of December 28, 1783.

Six months later, his companion, Fr. Figuer had a similar experience at the same place. "On July 26, 1784," he writes, "I received notice that at the ranchería of Guechi, which we call San Juan Capistrano El Viejo, a sick pagan woman desired to be baptized. On arriving there I found a multitude of sick people. Hence I tarried some days, exhorting them all to become Christians. After giving as much instruction as the time allowed, I proceeded to baptize those whom I considered very ill and who were at the point of death or in grave and manifest danger of death. They

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[5] *Book of Wisdom,* xviii, 14.

[6] *Baptismal Register,* San Diego.

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were the thirteen numbers 1025—1037." What Fr. Figuer experienced in his heart at this unexpected reward for his laborious trip and patient efforts, was not recorded. He merely adds the day of entry, August 30, 1784, and his necessary signature. The ranchería visited by him was destined to become the most populous mission of California, namely San Luis Rey, which was established June 13, 1798.

Truly, as a non-Catholic writer in the defunct *Land of Sunshine* puts it, "those were toilsome journeys which the missionaries took through desolate wastes and tangled wilds. It was no easy task to teach and civilize a nation of untamed savages; but sincerity of purpose gave success to their labors, and the seed which they planted still bears a visible harvest.

"The Indian is instinctively religious, and possesses a lively sense of the power of the unseen. . . The Spanish friars acted upon it. It was as souls that the Indians appealed to them, souls to be saved, and for which they must give an account. It is as souls, pathetic, humble, groping after the light, that they appeal to him who has witnessed and shared in their worship upon the soil where the first missionaries reared the cross." [7]

When the time was limited, the Fathers made the long journeys on horseback; but otherwise they went on foot. Their way led over rugged trails, up and down mountains. Frequently it was to administer Baptism and other Sacraments to dying children and adults; for under the circumstances the missionaries were constrained to postpone Baptism as long as there was danger of backsliding, which was always to be feared since the Indians lived at such distances from the supervision of the Fathers and among medicine men and unlawful relations who were ever at hand to smother good aspirations. Many may have been willing to join Mission San Diego in order to be away from the irresistible allurements and to receive the coveted Baptism; but

[7] Vol. xi, pp. 317-319; Charles Lummis, Editor.

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unfortunately the mission could feed only one-half of its own convert population. Doubtless, the hearts of the zealous missionaries ached for such willing candidates; but not until the above-mentioned date could the remedy be applied. Meanwhile, that no souls be lost, the Fathers submitted to the hardships of making the rounds of the rancherías as far as the prospects of reaping a spiritual harvest summoned them.

The military post six miles below added considerably to the trials of the already overburdened missionaries. It should have had a chaplain of its own, a secular priest, since the Franciscans had come for the sole purpose of giving religious instruction and administering the Sacraments to the aborigines. But half a century passed by before that proposition, so frequently urged by the Fathers, was carried out. Meanwhile, the missionaries attended the presidio every Sunday, celebrating holy Mass, preaching the Word of God, and visiting the sick and the prisoners. At times a call would come from there of a nature disclosed by the following entry in the hand of Fr. Fuster:

"On April 16, 1777, I was notified by a letter from Lieutenant Joseph Francisco de Ortega, comandante of the presidio at San Diego, that one of the pagan prisoners, who called himself Naleipoco from the Otay Ranchería, was very sick and wanted to be baptized. On receipt of this notice, I started out for the presidio and found the Indian already somewhat instructed. I then instructed him in what was still lacking of the Christian doctrine, and as the opportunity was given for baptizing him solemnly, I did so according to the regulations of Mother Church in the very jail of the presidio, and gave him the name Fernando Salvador de los Reyes. His godfather was Don Francisco Aguiar, sergeant in the leather-jacket company of the royal presidio of Loreto, whom I reminded of the spiritual parentage and obligations which he had contracted. In witness thereof I sign at this Mission of San Diego, on the eighteenth of said month and year.—Fr. Vicente Fuster."

Names of white persons who later figured prominently in

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California history appear quite early in the Mission Registers. "Among the entries in the book that was destroyed when the mission was fired," Fr. Fuster writes, "I am sure of one which stated that Fr. Dumetz baptized solemnly in the church of the mission during the month of February, 1775, an infant of a few days, the son of Don Francisco de Ortega, Lieutenant of the presidio, and Maria Antonia Carrillo, his wife. The child was given the name José Francisco Maria. The sponsors were Don Rafael de Pedro y Gil, the Presidio storekeeper, and his wife Josepha Chavira y Lerma. In witness etc., January 10, 1777." In the following year, on October 23, 1776, at the mission, Fr. Serra baptized Juan Capistrano, another son of Lieutenant Ortega. His name appears at number 463 in the Register.

In the presidio chapel, on the other hand, Fr. Lasuén baptized on October 11, 1781, Francisca Antonia Maria, born on the preceding day, daughter of Francisco Xavier Sepúlveda and his wife Maria Candelaria de Redondo, both from the Villa de Sinaloa, and recently arrived at the presidio. Don Rafael de Pedro y Gil and his wife were the sponsors.

On August 26, 1785, Fr. Lasuén baptized Maria Phelipa de Jesus, daughter of Corporal Joseph Macário Castro and his wife Potenciana Ramírez, both of the Villa de Sinaloa.

Fr. Hilário Torrent, on March 23, 1793, at the mission, baptized Maria de los Dolores y de Grácia, two days old, daughter of Juan Joseph Alvarado, soldier of the presidio, and his wife Antonia Valenzuela. The sponsors were Joseph Monroy, soldier of the presidio, and his wife Rita Villabos.

Proud as those Spanish officers in the early days may have been, and proud as Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, when military commander, showed himself, they did not deem it beneath their dignity to stand sponsor at the Baptism of the lowly Indians. Indeed, Don Fernando frequently exercised that office. Among the very first converts, some were his spiritual children. For instance, the second and

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third entered in the Baptismal Register by Fr. Gómez, Manuela and Angela, daughters of pagan parents at the time, could claim Don Fernando as their godfather. Later on their parents became Christians and were known as Rafael and Maria de los Dolores. Also for the first Indian convert, a youth of eighteen and the eighth entry on the list, Don Fernando stood sponsor. Fr. Gómez gave him the name Diego, because he had gone by that name from the beginning. He was surnamed Rivera in honor of the military commander. His father was a widower and a pagan at the time. But later he became a Christian and went by the name of Miguel. Diego did great service as interpreter, Fr. Fuster writes; but he allowed himself to be inveigled in the revolt and he was therefore imprisoned as an accomplice.

Additional information regarding the activity of the missionaries in the first decade of the mission can be had from the restored Marriage Register. The title page, reproduced in facsimile, shows that the register was opened by Fr. Junípero Serra. Immediately after follows this important note: "The first book which contained the entries for marriages celebrated at this Mission of San Diego, was destroyed by the fire on November 5, 1775, like the rest of the books. As this has been noted more in detail in the Registers of Baptisms and Deaths, it is not necessary to repeat it here. For this reason the marriages celebrated from the beginning to said date are entered merely after the manner of the Padrón, i.e. by giving only the names as they are remembered by the missionary, Fr. Vicente Fuster. That the style of entry may not appear strange, I attach this note, on October 25, 1776.—Fr. Junípero Serra."

Then follows a note by Fr. Vicente Fuster. "Whatever the Sacred Council of Trent and the Holy See command for the worthy administration of the Sacrament of Matrimony, has been exactly observed by the missionary Fathers of this Mission of San Diego, by my predecessors as well as by those who were in charge during my time. Therefore, concerning the names in the marriage entries that follow,

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it must be taken as a matter of course that every prescribed formality had been observed, such as the betrothal, the proclamation of the banns, and the marriage ceremony. . . Mission San Diego, January 14, 1777.—Fr. Vicente Fuster."

Having entered thirty-two couples in this summary way, Fr. Fuster remarks, "Those enumerated thus far are the marriages which have been contracted at the mission, most of the couples having come from the Ranchería of Cosoy, which stood on the same spot today occupied by the royal presidio of San Diego. In witness whereof etc.—Fr. Fuster, January 18, 1777."

Then followed the names of couples grouped under the ranchería where they had their domicile. This clear arrangement is of the utmost importance as it shows the territorial extent of the missionary activity of the Fathers of this mission, even as early as January, 1777.

I. Rancho de San Diego or Cosoy, already noted.

II. Rancho de Nuestro Padre San Francisco.

Under this head, Fr. Fuster enumerates entries 33-43, which he duly signs and dates, January 18, 1777.

III. Ranchería de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad.

Here Fr. Fuster enters numbers 44-66, which he certifies, dates, and signs on January 19, 1777.

IV. Ranchería de San Antonio, alias Las Choyas.

The marriages numbered 67-75 were dated and signed on January 19, 1777.

V. Rancho de la SSma Cruz en el Valle de San Luis, alias Coapan.

Fr. Fuster counts up numbers 76-92, dating and signing them on January 20, 1777.

VI. Ranchería de la Purisima Concepcion, alias Apusquelc.

Under this head are placed numbers 93-99. They are dated and signed on January 20, 1777.

VII. Ranchería de San Miguel, alias Janat.

Only four appear under this head, numbers 100-103, dated and signed on January 20, 1777.

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VIII. Ranchería de San Jacomé de la Marca, alias Jamocha.

Only numbers 104-106 were entered. They were dated and signed on January 21, 1777.

IX. Ranchería de San Juan Capistrano, alias Matamó.

Here are adduced numbers 107-112, dated and signed on January 21, 1777.

X. Ranchería de San Jorje, alias Neti.

From this place the Register enters numbers 113-114. They were dated and signed at Mission San Diego, January 21, 1777.

In the presidio chapel, only three marriages of whites took place before 1800. Since the respective parties play a prominent role in the later history of the missions, the reader will be curious to know the particulars. The first marriage, after the banns had been duly published, was that of Don Joseph Maria Góngora, single, sergeant from Monterey, Mexico, with Rosalía Maximiniana Verdugo, single, daughter of Juan Verdugo and Maria Ignácia de la Concepción Carrillo, by proxy, Don Mariano de la Luz Verdugo, representing Góngora, who was at Monterey, May 16, 1776, Fr. Vicente Fuster officiating. The witnesses were Don José Francisco de Ortega and Antonia Victoria Carrillo, his wife.

The second, numbered 320 in the Register, occurred on May 10, 1789, in the presidio chapel. The groom was Joseph Maria Pico, soldier, and the bride Maria Eustaquia Gutierrez. These were the parents of the last governor of California under the Mexican flag. As prescribed, the banns were published on three successive Sundays. The ceremony was witnessed by Phelipe Romero, blacksmith of the presidio, and Juan Maria Verdugo, soldier of the same presidio. Fr. Hilário Torrent officiated.

The third marriage was solemnized also in the presidio chapel by Fr. Hilário Torrent, on May 13, 1792. It appears at number 356 in the Register. The groom was Juan Joseph Alvarado, soldier, single, legitimate son of Bernardino Alvarado and Maria Teresa Castro, native of the pre-

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V.ª Jhs M.ª Jph

Libro de Matrimonios,

esto es,

en q̃ se assientan las partidas de los Casamientos q̃ se celebran en esta Mision de San Diego de Alcala en la superior California cercana al famoso Puerto de dho nombre,

Perteneciente

Al Colegio Apostolico De propaganda Fide de Misioneros del Orden de N. S. P. San Francisco de San Fernando de Mexico, quanto â su espiritual administracion,

Fundada

â expensas del Catholico Monarca de las Españas Carlos III. (q̃ Dios prospere) subministradas de amplissima facultad, y Comiss.ª del Ex.mo S.r D.n Carlos Francisco de Croix, Marques de Croix Then.e Gen.l de los Reales Exercitos, Virrey, Capitan General, y Governador de esta nueva España,

Por el Ill.mo S.r D.n Joseph de Galvez del consejo, y Camara de S. M. en el Real, y Supremo de las Indias, Intend.e de Exercito y Visitador General de esta nueva España,

Por los Religiosos de dicho Apostolico Colegio,

Y comenzada

Dia 16 de Julio, Domingo, dia del Triumfo de la SS.ma ✝ y de Nrâ Señora Maria SS.ma del Carmen, año de 1769.

Siendo sus prim.s Ministros

El P. P.r Fr Junipero Serra Presid.e y el P. P.r Fr Fernando Parron PP. Apostolicos del dho App.co Colegio de S. Fernando asociados del P. P.r Fr Juan Viscayno destinado â otra fundacion.

Consta este Libro nuevo

(restaurador del primitivo q̃ se quemo)*

*Vid. fol. 2.

De dos-cientas noventa y seys foxas adnotadas con sus num.s sin la prim.a y ult.a q̃ quedan en blanco, a hũo el foliado solo asciende al num.o de 295. p.q̃ al numerar, se saltó la foxa 80, y p.a remediarlo se duplico dho num.o y el 2.o se noto assi 80 dup. y p.q̃ conste lo firme en 16. de Octubre de 1776 años.

Fr Junipero Serra

sidio of Loreto. The bride was Antonia Valenzuela, legitimate daughter of Juan Segundo Valenzuela, soldier at San Diego, and Agustina Alcantar, native of the Real de los Alamos. The banns were published on three successive festive days, both at the Mission of San Diego and at Mission San Miguel del Encino, Lower California. Ramon Buelna and Claudio Lopez, soldiers, were the witnesses.

The arrival of the good Fr. Presidente was always a notable event at San Diego, especially after he had received the faculties to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. His first visit for the purpose of administering this Sacrament to the newly baptized Christians occurred in the fall of 1778. Here is how Fr. Junípero Serra himself relates the visit in his personal Journal of Confirmations.

"On September 21, 1778, the feast of the Apostle and Evangelist St. Matthew, in the church of the Mission of San Diego de Nípaguay, in the presence not only of the neophytes of said mission but also of the chief officials and the majority of the families of the presidio, with all the solemnity possible, after High Mass on said day, having observed all the regulations and rubrics as at San Carlos, that is to say, having preached a doctrinal and panegyrical sermon on the Sacrament I was about to administer and on the qualities of the minister of the Sacrament, having publicly read in the vernacular the Pontifical Indult, etc., being assisted by the two missionaries of the said mission, Fathers Fermin Francisco de Lasuén and Juan Figuer, and retaining the same vestments in which I had sung the Mass, I confirmed first Diego Rivera, the first neophyte, and two of the first Christians of said mission, and then continued with the rest to the last one prepared for that first day. They were seventy-four in number. Having imparted to all the Benediction after the usual Antiphone and prayers which the Roman Pontifical prescribes, I reminded the godfathers and godmothers of the spiritual relationship and obligations which they had contracted. With this the celebration closed.

"I remained a whole month at said mission, and in that

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time when a sufficient number of the scattered Christians had been collected, I prepared and disposed the adults by means of the Sacrament of Penance, and the others by acts of contrition for their faults, and explained to all the nature of the holy Sacrament which they were about to receive on a specified day. Then, after my Mass, which on those days was always a High Mass, preceded by the ringing of the bells, I administered the holy Sacrament. Under such circumstances there were in all twelve days on which I confirmed and the number of those who were confirmed on those days, children and adults, was six hundred and ten, among whom were some children of Spaniards and of other non-Indian classes. Of all the neophytes entered in the Padrónes, the Fathers assured me that only twelve were missing, but that they could not be found. A new blank book was set apart for noting the said Confirmations and others in the future, which I myself entered. In the said entries are the names of the confirmed as well as of the godfathers and godmothers. On October 18, which was the nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost, the last Confirmations were administered, and on that day I bade farewell and left the mission. I staid over night at the presidio, where on the following morning after holy Mass I took the road for the next mission.—Fr. Junípero Serra."

As already related in the preceding chapter, the Fr. Presidente visited Mission San Diego for the last time in 1783. His purpose was to administer Confirmation to those who had been baptized since his foregoing visit and to bid a last farewell to his beloved brethren. For he felt that his end was approaching and that he would never see them again in this life.

We close this chapter with the notice of the death of Fr. Juan Figuer, the companion and fellow sufferer of Fr. Lasuén. He passed to his eternal reward in December, 1784. The entry in the Death Register reads:

"No. 263. Rev. Preacher Apostolic, Fr. Juan Figuer.

"On December 19, 1784, I gave ecclesiastical burial in the church of this Mission of San Diego to the body of the

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Rev. Fr. Juan Figuer, Preacher Apostolic of the College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando de Mexico, missionary of this Mission, member of the Holy Province of Aragon, and native of Anento in said kingdom. He very devoutly received the holy Sacraments of Penance, Eucharist, and Extreme Unction. In witness whereof I have signed on said day, month, and year.—Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuén."

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CHAPTER VIII.

Reports Demanded.—Cemeteries.—Mechanical Arts.—Statistics.—School at Presidio.—Banner Year at Mission.—Building Activities.—Grapevines.—Elections.—Dissatisfied Indians.—Troubles of Fr. Panella and Fr. Mariner.—Buildings.—Dominicans.—Death of Fr. Juan Mariner.—Grapevines.—Earthquake.—Furious Indian.—His Punishment.—Transfer of Bodies of Deceased Missionaries.—Death of Fr. Nicolas Lázaro.—Mission Aqueduct.—Smythe's View.—New Church Begun.—Dedication.—Specimen of Sectarian Gullibility.—Death of Fr. Pedro Panto.—Poisoned by Cook.—Fr. Tapis on the Subject.—Arrillaga on the Friars.—The Aqueduct.—Infirmary.—Church Goods.—Santa Isabel.—Difficulties.—Chapel Erected.—Dedication.—Numerous Baptisms.—Present Condition.

FROM Monterey, under date of November 28, 1791, Fr. Presidente Lasuén issued a circular notifying the Fathers that annually, beginning with January 1, 1792, a report in duplicate form should be drawn up at each mission and sent to him, because the Most Reverend Commissary-General and the College at Mexico demanded a general report compiled from the local accounts. At the same time, to facilitate matters, Fr. Lasuén set up a formula which the Fathers had but to fill out. Accordingly, exact figures and statements were thereafter made under these heads: Baptisms, Marriages, Deaths, Indians at the Mission, Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Pigs, Horses, Mules, Plantings, Harvests, Buildings, Furniture in Church and House, Implements, Shops. Though annual reports had been made before, from now on the returns of the missionaries were more systematic and minute, as we shall see in the course of the narrative.

In addition, a royal decree of 1787, demanded Biennial Reports from each mission. These were to state the number of missionaries, the stipends received from the Pious Fund, the number of male and female Indians, the number of boys and girls under nine years of age, and the difference in numbers between that and the immediately preceding Bien-

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nial Report. For reasons unknown this order failed to reach California until 1795. Still later, in October, 1806, the Superior of San Fernando College requested reports on the number of annual Communions and Confessions. The information on these subjects will be found in tabular form at the end of the narrative.

In his first General Biennial Report, dated San Carlos Mission, March 11, 1795, Fr. Lasuén says that from San Diego to San Francisco as many as seventeen or eighteen Indian languages or idioms were spoken, and that there were not two missions where one and the same Indian language was used.

The local annual reports of Mission San Diego for the years 1784—1792 seem to have perished, since none of them can be found. But beginning with the year 1793, the annual statements on the condition of the establishment are nearly complete. Before culling from this source, it may as well be related right here what Fr. Presidente Lasuén under date of December 20, 1792, writes to Governor Arrillaga, at the latter's request, on the subject of mission cemeteries. "I herewith comply with the order of your Honor of October 28, last, by informing you that at all Missions of this New California, with the exception of one or two, there are cemeteries, but not outside the village (not away from the population). They consist of a plot of ground surrounded by a fence of palisades or of adobe, in the center of which there stands a cross. The settlers usually take the dead for burial to the nearest mission cemetery. Those of the presidio sometimes do likewise, but on other occasions they bury the dead in the presidio churches. The cemetery of the presidio of San Diego is situated on one side of the church, which is not the case at other presidios.[1] The cemetery of the Mission of San Diego occupies the land

[1] *Archbishop's Archives*, no. 47b.

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to a width of ten varas (or twenty-nine feet) along the whole length of the church and vestry on the north side."[2]

No report was demanded by the government on the product of the various mechanical workshops, which is to be regretted, because information about mechanical arts, a most important feature of life at the missions, would now be of the greatest value. That such arts were taught is clear from this interesting item mentioned by Fr. Lasuén. "A few days ago," he informs Governor Arrillaga on December 21, 1792, "arrived here at San Carlos from San Diego at my request Antonio Domingo Henriquez. He brought along his Indian wife from San Diego. At all the missions of the South as far as San Luis Obispo, he has made spinning-wheels, warping-frames, combs, looms, and all the utensils of the art save carding instruments. He has taught carding, spinning, and also the weaving of various woolen cloths, also of the Sayal Franciscano (coarse woolen cloth) of which they have already made clothing for some missionaries."[3]

In 1793, a granary, 96 by 24 feet, was built of adobe and roofed with tiles.

At the close of the year 1794, Fathers Mariner and Torrent write: "Three buildings have been enlarged; a portion of the walls that guard the mission has been erected; a vineyard and a grove have been surrounded with a wall of adobe forming a circuit of five hundred varas (more than fourteen hundred feet); and the fields have been prepared for planting." The Indians must have labored with a will, when it is considered that the whole mission population consisted of 862 souls, of whom only one-half or even less lived near by; and of these a large portion of the men had to till the land, care for the live stock, or were occupied at weaving, shoemaking, tailoring, and other mechanical arts.

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[2] "Su cementerio pegado al costado del norte de todo el largo de iglesia y sacristia, y de diez varas de ancho." Fr. Lasuén, May 10, 1783.

[3] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 48.

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In 1795, the Fathers to their great joy discovered a spring which produced so much water that they decided to use it for irrigating the land. Unfortunately, the report does not indicate its location. During that same year, an expedition set out to look for mission sites.[4] In 1796, a wall running along the arroyo was plastered and two of the buildings were enlarged. From the Biennial Reports of this year, 1796, we learn that the two missionaries of San Diego received each a stipend in the shape of various goods and articles amounting to $400, and that the other Father who was staying at the mission as supernumerary received no stipend. The Indian populations comprised 412 males and 496 females, in all 908 souls.

In 1795, Governor Borica writes: "At the presidio of San Diego, Sergeant Don Manuel de Vargas, retired from military service, is in charge of the school. His salary is $100, which is provided by the troops and others." The school had been opened that year. On September 29, he had an attendance of twenty-two pupils.[5] Likewise, in 1795, the missions of this district were requested to send each four or five Indians to the presidio to learn stone-cutting and brick-laying.[6]

The year 1797 was a banner year. As many as 565 Indians were baptized, so that, after subtracting deaths, the population rose from 908 to 1,405. For the Fathers, this meant immense work in a spiritual way, not to speak of the worry so many additional mouths to be fed and bodies to be clothed involved. However, as the Fathers were out for souls, their happiness far surpassed their hardships. Thus, in 1797, San Diego outstripped both San Gabriel and San Antonio and became the most populous mission in California.

Since more water was needed for mission purposes the

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[4] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 490-491.

[5] *Cal. Arch., Prov. Records*, v. 650. See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, p. 474.

[6] Bancroft, i, p. 652.

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Fathers built a ditch 1,300 varas or yards long that brought water to the establishment. The wall along the arroyo was lengthened with masonry to a distance of eighty varas. For the sick, four houses were constructed fifty-two varas long and five varas wide, and covered with tiles.

The Biennial Report for 1797-1798 gives the important information that *grapes were raised and some wine was pressed.* Fathers Juan Mariner and José Panella were stationed there at the time, but Fr. José Barona assisted as supernumerary. Fr. Hilário Torrent, on November 8, 1798, had sailed for Mexico, where he died before May 14, 1799.

At the beginning of 1799, the usual elections of alcaldes and regidores were held. On January 20, Fathers Mariner and Panella reported that the Indians Jayme Samop and Antonio Pellau had been elected alcaldes, and Bernardino de Sena with Angel Natamias regidores.

During 1798, some of the Indians were disposed to be troublesome. They manifested dissatisfaction particularly with Fr. José Panella, a new missionary. After investigating the case, Fr. Lasuén, under date of September 30, 1798, wrote from San Carlos to Governor Borica that the complaints against Fr. Panella's asperity had little foundation, but that nevertheless appropriate steps would be taken to eliminate any cause for dissatisfaction as he would not permit any of his subjects to do injustice to the natives. Thereupon, Governor Borica replied on the next day, "In consequence of your communication of yesterday, I have instructed the commander of San Diego to keep in mind the last chapter of the Instructions which treat of how to listen to complaints of Indians of the mission without favoring them entirely, but to assure them that they shall have what they need, and to blame and reprove them in what they deserve." [7]

Fr. Panella himself explained to Governor Borica under date of November 21, that the complainants were dissatisfied

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[7] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

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because he would not let them have their way at certain feasts.[8]

Governor Borica, however, directed Comandante Manuel Rodriguez of San Diego to institute a secret investigation. This was done, and Rodriguez reported as follows:

In view of the confidential note of Your Honor, in which you advise me of the complaint made by the Indian of this mission who is called Andres and who turned to Your Honor to accuse Fr. Juan Mariner, the missionary, I have to say that I have been informed by three individuals. All witnesses expressed themselves to the effect that two Indians of the ranchería died in consequence of having been taken out of the Mission *calabozo* very ill; and they added that the diarrhoea from which the Indians died infected the majority of the neophytes; that they contracted the illness in jail,[9] into which they had been placed by the said missionary because of robberies; that no one was made to work when ill, unless his illness was not known; that it is true, however, that the punishment of twenty or twenty-five lashes is usually added to that of confinement, but only in the case of real robberies or of very grave suspicion thereof; that no case has occurred where *pozole* and *atole* was wanting for all, although it has not been administered to such prisoners in such abundance as they generally demanded; and that it is likewise true that they are made to go out to work at daybreak from which they return for meal which lasts an hour, and then resume work until sunset.[10] This is all I can say to Your Honor in the brief report which you demand by your order of November 25, 1798. God keep you many years.—San Diego, December 19, 1798. Manuel Rodriguez.[11]

The truth is that the mission regulations directed that neophytes, except the infirm and incapacitated, rise at daybreak for morning prayers, holy Mass and the Doctrina, whereupon they take breakfast. Work was then begun about 8 o'clock and lasted till noon or Angelus at 12. They returned to work at 2 o'clock and continued till about 5, when there would be the Doctrina and supper. Thereafter,

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[8] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 166.

[9] But the same epidemic afflicted the Mission of San Diego in 1798. See Bancroft, p. 654, note 20.

[10] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 554-567, for details on mission routine.

[11] *Cal. Arch.*, Prov. St. Pap., xvii, p. 105.

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amusements could be indulged in, which for the girls ceased at 8 o'clock, while the youths might continue till 9 o'clock if they wished. The fact is, therefore, that the Indians labored only six or seven hours a day.

Some of the Indians appeared disposed for a frolic at times, as we gather from Bancroft.[12] Three neophytes, for instance, at one time in 1794 were found stowed away in the *Concepcion* eight days out from the port. They claimed to have done this for sport, and they were sent back from San Blas. Again, in 1798, a runaway neophyte was sent back from Tepíc.

During the last year of the century, 1799, much building was done. A large room for the mission guards was erected, measuring fifteen and one-half by twenty-five and one-half feet. The material was presumably adobe, though that circumstance is not mentioned. A room for the corporal of the guard was added. It measured sixteen feet in length and presumably had the width of the preceding room. One new structure, the dimensions of which are not stated, was erected to shelter the iron implements and utensils. Another structure measured fifty-six feet in length; its width is not given, though it probably corresponded to the main wings, that were fifteen and one half feet wide. Finally, a remarkable building was erected which is described as follows: "Another structure was built, twenty-three and one-half Spanish yards (67 feet) long and thirteen and one-half yards (38 feet) wide. It had a *pilár* in the center, measuring ten varas (28 feet) in height and being one vara and a quarter (4 feet) square, of masonry, from which the beams ran down on the adobe walls. It was covered with tiles." The purpose of this building is not stated, but it is seen in the cut.

Friendly visits from Dominican Fathers of Lower California were frequent in the last decade of the century. Generally they would be asked to officiate at a Baptism or

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12 *History*, vol. i, p. 655.

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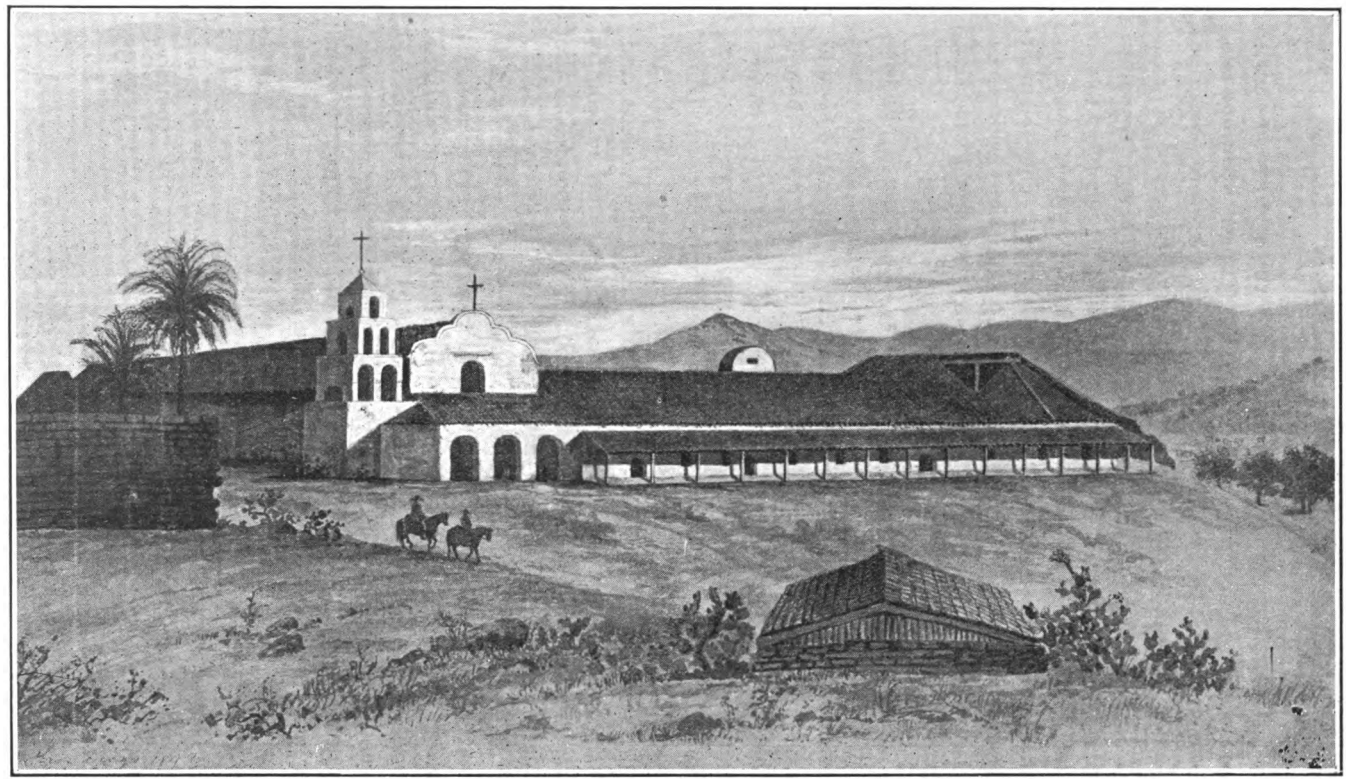

MISSION SAN DIEGO IN 1848 (From a Drawing)

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a burial at both the mission and the presidio. The entry in that case always has the remark "de licentia—by permission." The first Dominican who appears in the Register of Baptisms is Fr. Caietano Pallas, who baptized on April 5, 1791. Other Dominicans officiating were Fr. Josef Loriente, in September, 1791, June, 1792, and July, 1798; Fr. Mariano Apolinário, in October, 1794, and October, 1795; Fr. Miguel Lopez, in May and June, 1795; Fr. Josef Conause, of Santo Tomás, in July, 1798; Fr. Ramon Lopez of San Vicente Ferrer, in November, 1798; and Fr. Eudaldo Surroca, of Santo Tomás, in November, 1801.

Mission San Diego suffered a great loss in the death of her senior missionary, Fr. Juan Mariner. He had officiated at a burial (number 1,048) for the last time on December 23, 1799, and had entered his last baptisms (numbers 2,710-2,711) on January 20, 1800. The entry of his funeral in the Death Register is laconical enough. It reads as follows: "No. 1,059. On January 30, 1800, at this Mission of San Diego, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Fr. Juan Mariner, Missionary Apostolic, and missionary of said Mission, who died on the preceding day at half past seven o'clock in the night. In testimony whereof I sign, Fr. José Faura."

Fr. Mariner had been stationed at the mission since December, 1785. What little is known about him will be found in the biographical sketches. Fathers Panella and Barona had been the assistants of the deceased. Why Fr. Faura, who till then had been stationed at San Luis Rey, performed the burial ceremonies is not clear. Thereafter he did not officiate at any other ceremony at San Diego, although on a visit in February and October, 1799, he administered Baptism. He was next transferred to San Juan Capistrano.

In his Biennial Report of February 25, 1801, Fr. Lasuén states that "the Missions of San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, and

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San Luis Obispo raise grapes and press some wine.[13] In most missions, despite our endeavors, we have no success, since we missionaries, being all Europeans, do not know the climatic or other situations. In some missions grape culture and wine pressing succeed, in others the result is distressing; whether by reason of the soil or the climate, they are failures. . ." On February 21, 1803, he notes that "in some missions they have begun to harvest olives; and at San Diego they have already made some very good olive oil." [14]

In the latter part of the last year of the century, this southern district experienced a somewhat severe earthquake. From Loreto, Lower California, under date of January 16, 1801, Governor Arrillaga reported to the viceroy that on the eleventh of the preceding month the lieutenant-commander of San Diego presidio had informed him that on November 22, 1800, at 1:30 p.m., an earthquake had occurred which lasted six minutes. Several dwellings occupied by the soldiers, the warehouse for clothing, and the house of the lieutenant of volunteers suffered damage. The earthquake extended as far as the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, twenty-five leagues to the north, and there threw down the wall of the transept of the church which they were building.[15]

It was still dangerous for even the devoted missionaries to incur the displeasure of the Indians in their present half-enlightened state; and that might happen through no fault of the Fathers. A mere refusal to gratify the whim of a native or a slight scolding would suffice to excite him to seek revenge. One of these, named Hilário, had gone so far as to throw a stone at one of the missionaries. This was a

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13 "Comen uvas y se hace algun vino."

14 "Ya en San Diego se ha hecho un poco de aceyte muy bueno." *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

15 *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.*, xxi, pp. 134-138, Bancroft Collection. Bancroft, vol. ii, p. 106, notes also, on the authority of the *Provincial Records*, xii, 21, that on May 25, 1803, an earthquake slightly damaged the San Diego Mission church.

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serious matter. The corporal of the guard doubtless reported the case to Captain Manuel Rodríguez, commander of the presidio. He appears to have thought the case of sufficient importance to go before the governor; for Governor Arrillaga writing to Rodriguez from Loreto, Lower California, under date of February 16, 1805, says, "The act of the Indian Hilário, which you refer to me under date of January 10, deserves severe chastisement. To have the audacity of throwing a stone at his missionary, is something of which there are few examples. In order, therefore, that the others may take a lesson it is necessary that he be kept in prison, where on nine successive feast days, always after High Mass, he shall be given twenty-five lashes. On the other nine Sundays he shall be given thirty-five or forty stripes; moreover, it is necessary that you have six other Indians, every Sunday different ones, come from the mission to be present at the punishment. After what I order now has been carried out, I shall determine what destination will have to be assigned to him. Furthermore, I direct that you in this punishment show no clemency."[16] Clearly, Governor Arrillaga held the missionaries in veneration and wanted them treated with due respect.

On May 4, 1802, Fr. Panella in his Biennial Report to Fr. Lasuén writes: "My companion does not sign because he is in the vineyard, and the mail carrier allows no time to wait for him." This was Fr. Barona. Evidently the Franciscans looked closely to their temporal affairs, although they very much preferred to attend to their chief work, the spiritual affairs of the dusky children. However, as a means to the end for which they had come, the Fathers would not shirk the disagreeable task of leading in work on the farm or of looking after the live stock.

In the same year, as has already been pointed out, Fr. Lasuén in his defense of the missionaries, deplores the situation at Mission San Diego where circumstances permitted only one-half of the Indians to live at the mission.

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[16] *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.*, xii, 35-36. Bancroft Collection.

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For the next several years, nothing specific is reported in the way of building; but in 1804, an unusual ceremony took place at the mission. In the Death Register it is headed

Traslacion de los Cadaveres de los Padres Luis Jaume, Juan Figuer, y Juan Mariner.

The entry reads: "On April 26, 1804, with the assistance of the Commander of the neighboring presidio of San Diego, Don Manuel Rodríguez and his troops formed in a line, we the undersigned missionaries of this mission of the same name transferred the bodies of the three deceased ex-ministers, and after a Vigil and High Mass for their repose placed them in one and the same tomb, situated beneath the small arch which is between the two altars of the *new* church, but each one in its own coffin. The larger contains the body, still entire and clothed, of the Rev. Fr. Juan Mariner, who died on January 29, 1800; the middle sized, with the skeleton of Rev. Fr. Juan Figuer, who passed away on December 18, 1784; the smaller coffin, held the remains of the Rev. Fr. Luis Jaume, who with utmost inhumanity and fierceness was assaulted, beaten and killed by his own sons whom he had regenerated in Christ. In order that for all time to come they may be recognized clearly, we had three stones placed over said tomb. The stone nearest to the Virgin, our Lady of Pilár, marks the remains of Fr. Jaume; the one next to it, near the statue of San Diego, points out the body of Fr. Mariner. The stone which stands most distant and faces the south, indicates the remains of Fr. Figuer. Whose souls through the mercy of God may rest in peace. Amen. This is the very truth, which we sign on the twenty-seventh of the same month and year.—Fr. Mariano Payeras." No other signatures follow.

Less than three years later, the remains of another Father were laid to rest in the same church, as the following entry number 1,727, in the Death Register shows: "On August 19, 1807, Fr. José Barona gave ecclesiastical burial in the church of this Mission of San Diego under (the statue of),

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San José to the body of the Rev. Fr. Nicolas Lázaro, supernumerary missionary at said mission. He was a member of the holy Province of Burgos, and had been missionary of San Fernando Rey. He had received the holy Sacraments as directed by holy Mother Church. In testimony whereof I sign, Fr. José Sanchez."

Fr. Lázaro had been at the mission but a short time, to recuperate from ill health. He entered his first Baptism on June 25, and baptized only once more, nine days before his death, that is, on August 9, 1807.

The first year of the nineteenth century, Bancroft relates,[17] proved a severe one for the mission from a material point of view. The rains were late, and there was much want of grain during the year, as also in 1803.[18] "It may be that these droughts impelled the Fathers to construct an extensive system of irrigation works, and that the works, whose remains are still to be seen, were probably completed during the next few years. About three miles above the mission the river was dammed by a solid stone wall, thirteen feet in thickness and coated with cement that became as hard as rock. In the center was a gate-way twelve feet high and lined with brick. The dam was standing as late as 1874, though the water had washed out a channel at one end, and the sand left but a few feet of the height of the structure visible. From this dam an aqueduct constructed of tiles, resting on cobblestones in cement, and carrying a stream one foot deep and two feet wide to the mission lands was built through a precipitous gorge, impassable on horseback. The aqueduct often crossed gulches from fifteen to twenty feet wide and deep, and was so strong that in places it supported itself after the foundations were removed."

"There is nothing more remarkable about these priestly

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[17] *California*, vol. ii, pp. 104-106.

[18] 2,010 bushels of all kinds of grain and 78 bushels of beans were raised in 1801 and less in the two subsequent years. The year 1809 yielded only 1,262 bushels.

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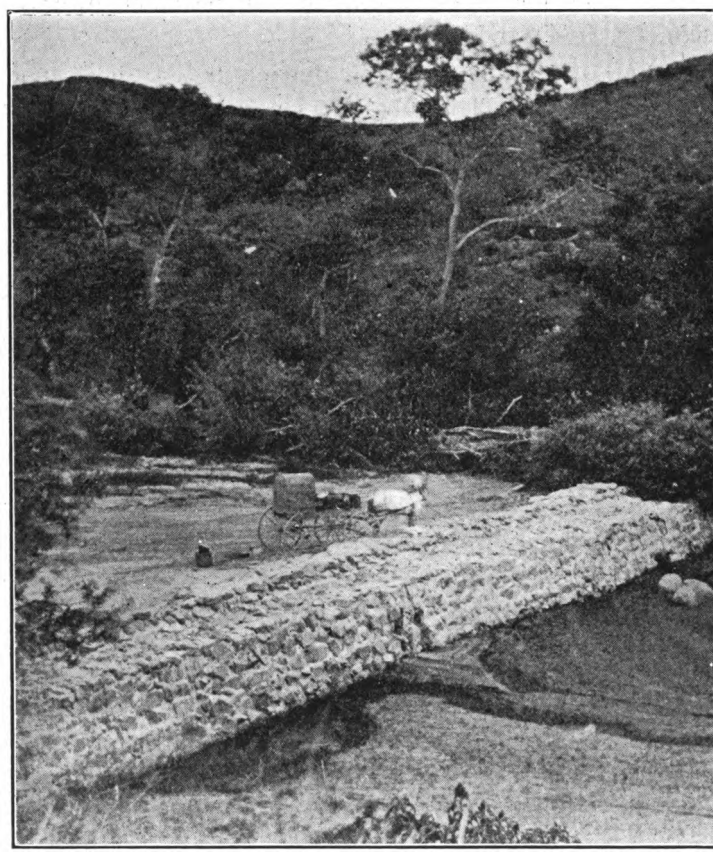
builders," says William E. Smythe in his *History of San Diego*,[19] "than the versatility of their talent and the manner in which they met all demands. Thus they were able to supply the engineering capacity to solve the problem of a



SAN DIEGO MISSION DAM

permanent water supply. They went ten miles up the valley, found bedrock, and proceeded to build a dam of solid masonry across the river bed, two hundred and twenty-

[19] Vol. i, pp. 64-65.

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four feet long and twelve feet thick. The remains of this work are still in existence and exhibit a wall fourteen feet high, as seen from the lower side. The water was conducted by means of well-built ditches and a short tunnel, and supplied the mission at all seasons of the year. It is this achievement which gives the Mission Fathers a high place in the history of irrigation, and the remains of that ancient dam should be regarded as a hallowed shrine in a land where water is god of the harvest. . . It seems very remarkable that men so deeply immersed in spiritual concerns should also have been practical men of affairs and capable executives. Had they not been very competent in both respects they would have failed in their difficult undertaking. This very unusual combination of qualities seems to have been common to nearly all the priests, and it is little wonder that they obtained the confidence of the Indians to a very large degree and became their trusted advisers in all their trouble."

Important building was done about this time; but the Fathers are sparing in their description of it. "The house of the Fathers was finished, and it is very becoming," is all that is to be found in the official report made on December 31, 1806, by Fathers Barona and Sanchez. Neither the time when it was begun nor the dimensions are given; and we are made to suppose that the walls were of adobe and the roof of tiles. In addition, they remark that some work was done at the old buildings. So much might have been told in connection with these undertakings; but the Fathers did not realize of what a pleasure they were depriving posterity.[20]

The erection of a house of God is surely a highly important affair. Still, all we read about it from the hand of Fr. Sanchez, who, as if by the way, mentions it in a letter

[20] In this year, on May 16, 1807, Fr. Presidente Tápis designated San Diego Mission as the place of the Retreat for the Fathers of this and the neighboring missions. See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii. p. 630.

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to Governor Arrillaga, dated September 29, 1808, is the following: "On the present day of September 29, 1808, the beginning was made with a church at this mission." We are thankful that the date at least is given exactly. In the official annual report to Fr. Presidente, Fathers Barona and Sanchez only say, "Se sigue la Iglesia comenzada—The church begun continues building."

At the close of 1810, Fathers Panto and Sanchez write that the new church building and the sacristy and ten other houses had been roofed, and that other buildings were under construction or repairs. In the report for 1811, however, they give information that the roof of the church, which was to have been flat, had to be taken down, and likewise almost the whole front, on account of serious cracks.

Notwithstanding the great earthquake of December 8, 1812, Fathers Martin and Sanchez say in their report of December 31, 1812, "Thanks be to God, we are completing the church building, and we expect to bless it in the coming year, 1813." They were fortunate above their brethren at San Juan Capistrano where the terrible earthquake resulted most disastrously.

At last the long looked for day arrived, which was to witness the solemn dedication of the church, of which but the ruins are seen at the present time. In the Baptismal Register, after the entry of a Baptism, number 4,070, on November 7, 1813, by Fr. Vicente de Sarría, the Comisario Prefecto of the California Missions, who held the visitation then, the event is recorded in the following

NOTA

"On November 12, 1813, the day of the glorious San Diego, this his holy church was blessed with all the appropriate formalities and solemnities. The Rev. Fr. José Barona officiated at said function, he being the missionary of the mission of San Juan Capistrano. He blessed the edifice and celebrated the High Mass on said day. The first sermon for the solemnity was preached by the Rev. Fr. Geronimo Boscana, missionary of Mission San Luis Rey de

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Francia; and the second sermon, on the occasion of the translation of the bodies of the Rev. Missionaries who had served as missionaries and died here, was preached by the Rev. Fr. Thomas Ahumada, Dominican Father and missionary of Mission San Miguel, Lower California. Don Francisco Maria Ruiz, lieutenant of cavalry and commander of the presidio of San Diego, served as sponsor at the dedication, the resident missionaries of said mission being Fathers José Sanchez and Fernando Martin." This entry was made by Fr. Boscana.

In this connection a curious specimen of sectarian gullibility should not be overlooked. It is retailed by Smythe as follows:

> There is a tradition of unusual interest concerning the building of the San Diego Mission, which is related as follows in the *San Diego Weekly Union* of September 24, 1878:
>
> From an old woman now living near San Luis Rey, named Josefa Peters, and whom we believe to be at least 124 years of age, Mr. W. B. Couts learned that the timber for the mission came from Smith's Mountain, at least sixty miles inland from this city. The old lady says that after the timbers had all been nicely hewed and prepared, and blessed by the priests on the mountain, on a certain day a vast number of the stoutest Indians were collected and stationed in relays of about a mile apart, all the way from the summit of the mountain to the foundations of the mission buildings in the valley near this city. At a given signal the timbers were sprinkled by the assembled priests on the mountain, and were then hoisted on the shoulders of the Indians, and were thus carried to the first relays and changed to their shoulders, and so on, all the way to San Diego, without touching the ground; as it was considered sacrilege to have one of them touch the ground from the time of starting until it arrived at its final destination in the Church. As there are an immense number of these timbers, it shows the zeal and devotion of the Indians at that date, and their obedience to the Reverend Fathers.[21]

This ridiculous dream of an old Indian woman would scarcely need comment or denial. It is too stupid to be considered seriously, notwithstanding that W. B. Couts stands sponsor for it. Indians are imaginative, and for that reason those who know them will endeavor to secure

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[21] Smythe, *History of San Diego,* vol. i, p. 64.

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corroboration from at least half a dozen sober ones on any subject of their own invention. But to rely on stories of Indian women in their second childhood is the limit of folly. If Smythe had known a little something of Catholic practices, he would not have included calumnies, let alone old wives' tales. We would advise all who want to speak or write about Catholic customs and practices, to have the ordinary decency to inquire of some one who is in a position to know them. Often they need go no farther than the nearest desk. At all events, Catholic customs and regulations are always in keeping with reason and common sense.

The timbers for the church were certainly brought from a distance, because there was and is no suitable building material near the mission. They were not hewn and blessed in the woods, but down at the mission. Nor were they brought down on the shoulders of unhappy Indians for a distance of sixty miles, not even of sixty yards, but they were hauled to the mission by oxen. Nor was it considered a sacrilege for a piece of blessed timber to touch the ground. It was not blessed at all until it occupied its place in the building, and then the blessing of the whole edifice took place. A priest who would have subjected the Indians to such folly as is related by Smythe, would have been sent back to Mexico as a lunatic. Not even in his lunacy would he have conceived of such a silly plan. How gullible some people are, even so-called historians!

Fr. Pedro Panto who had seen the sacred edifice rise, did not live to witness its solemn dedication; for he died in the preceding year. The entry made by Fr. Geronimo Boscana reads as follows: "Number 2,143. On July 2, 1812, with the assistance of Fr. Thomas Ahumada, Dominican, I gave ecclesiastical burial in the church of this Mission of San Diego to the body of the Rev. Pedro Panto, deceased missionary of said Mission, member of the holy Province of San Miguel, and a native of Valverde del Fresno. Before his death he received the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. He could not receive the holy Viaticum. He passed away on June 30, at 7 p.m. He died, according to opinions,

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from poisoning at the hands of the cook. In testimony thereof I sign, Fr. Geronimo Boscana."

Fr. Panto had made his last entry, number 2,140, in the Death Register, on June 26, 1812. In the Baptismal Register his name appears for the last time on June 21. 1812, number 3,946, only nine days before his death.

The poisoning had occurred seven months before and an attack of violent vomiting appears to have brought on a lingering disease from which the good Father finally died. At the time, the act being a capital crime, the military officials took cognizance of the case. Suspicion at once fell on Indian Nazario, the Father's cook, who on examination acknowledged his guilt. It would seem that Fr. Panto, who like Fr. Jaume wanted no revenge but conversion, declined to prosecute or even to testify against the culprit, whereupon Domingo Carrillo, whom the acting comandante of the presidio, Don Ignacio Martinez, had appointed prosecutor, addressed himself to Fr. Estevan Tapis, the Fr. Presidente of the missions. In reply the Fr. Presidente wrote as follows:

"By official note of the 21 instant, you ask me to concede my permission to the Rev. Fr. Pedro Panto, so that he may give his declaration in the investigation which Alférez Don Ignacio Martinez of the presidio of San Diego has committed to you regarding the arrangement for trial of the Indian neophyte called Nazario, the cook of the Rev. Missionary Fathers, for having put poison or poisonous herbs into the soup of said Fr. Panto in the evening of Saturday, the 16 instant.

"While I protest that I do not desire in any manner whatever that from my permission or from the declaration of the Rev. Fr. Pedro Panto any capital punishment befall any person, I in virtue of this allow the said Religious, after making the same protest, to give the necessary declaration in order that precautionary steps be taken to prevent, as far as possible, similar attempts against his person or

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against others in the future. Mission Purisima Concepcion, November 27, 1811, Fr. Estevan Tapis.—Domingo Carillo." [22]

It will be observed that Fr. Tapis, who knew the value of Indian complaints or statements, took the matter very coolly. In this spirit, too, the charges of the neophyte must be judged. Only a few years previously, Governor Arrillaga, reporting to Mexico as to the charges of cruelty on the part of the missionaries, wrote, "The Friars on the whole are sensible and honest men, and the natives are as a rule well treated. Slight defects and excesses are sufficiently guarded against by Franciscan and ecclesiastical regulations which render secular interference on account of a few isolated complaints inadvisable." [23]

The Indian confessed that he had poisoned the soup out of revenge, because from the Father he had received in succession fifty, twenty-five, twenty-four, and twenty-five lashes in the twenty-four hours preceding the attempted crime, as Bancroft[24] has it, which of course is too absurd to need disproval. Elsewhere in the report he claimed he had received two hundred lashes.

Nevertheless, Sergeant José Maria Pico, who acted as defender, held the remarkable opinion that Nazario's crime was justifiable on account of Fr. Panto's cruelty, which was not proved. Inasmuch as the poisonous dose had not been fatal, but rather because with those Indians another standard had to be employed, as the Fathers themselves always excused them as people but half-witted, Domingo Carrillo insisted that a penalty of eight months' labor in the presidio should be imposed as a warning to others. It is not known whether the sentence was carried out, but doubtless it was. This same José Maria Pico with several soldiers was arrested for plotting a revolt for the seizure of the military post. Three of the soldiers died in prison. Such is the assertion

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[22] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, xlix, 104, 105.

[23] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 581-582.

[24] Vol. ii, p. 345.

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of Pio Pico in his *Historia.*[25] Only two years before, Estudillo wrote that the missionaries treated the neophytes like their own children, correcting them with words and for serious offenses with from twelve to twenty-five lashes applied but once for any misdeed, a regulation no missionary would dare to disregard, even if the Fathers had been the characters their enemies desire to paint them.

After completing the church and vestry, Fathers Sanchez and Martin went to work at another much greater and more difficult undertaking. As briefly as ever they introduce the herculean task with these words: "We are working at an aqueduct, which is to bring water to the mission. We hope it may succeed with the help of God, for the worst difficulties have already been overcome." This statement was made in the annual report of December 31, 1813. In the next *Informe* of December 31, 1814, the Fathers say, "Work on the aqueduct is progressing; already as many as 6,600 varas have been completed." That would be equivalent to three and a half miles. Let the reader remember what Smythe says of it which agrees with our own observations made as late as 1904.

The year 1815 saw another infirmary go up, which is proof that the Fathers were solicitous for every need of their flock. Also work on the aqueduct was continued during this and the next year. In 1816, the infirmary was completed. That same year Fr. Fernando Martin drew up an inventory of the articles contained in the church and sacristy. At the close, immediately preceding his signature, is a note, saying, "Under the niche of our Father Saint Francis is deposited the offering which Don Josef Fons, Captain of the company of Catalonian volunteers, made."[26] The document is dated July 19, 1816.

Nothing more is noted regarding the *Zanja* or aqueduct

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[25] Pp. 3-4, according to Bancroft, vol. ii, pp. 344.

[26] "Debajo del nicho de Nro. P. S. Francisco esta depositada la oferta que dió Don Josef Fons, Capitan Graduado de la Compania de los Voluntarios de Cataluña."

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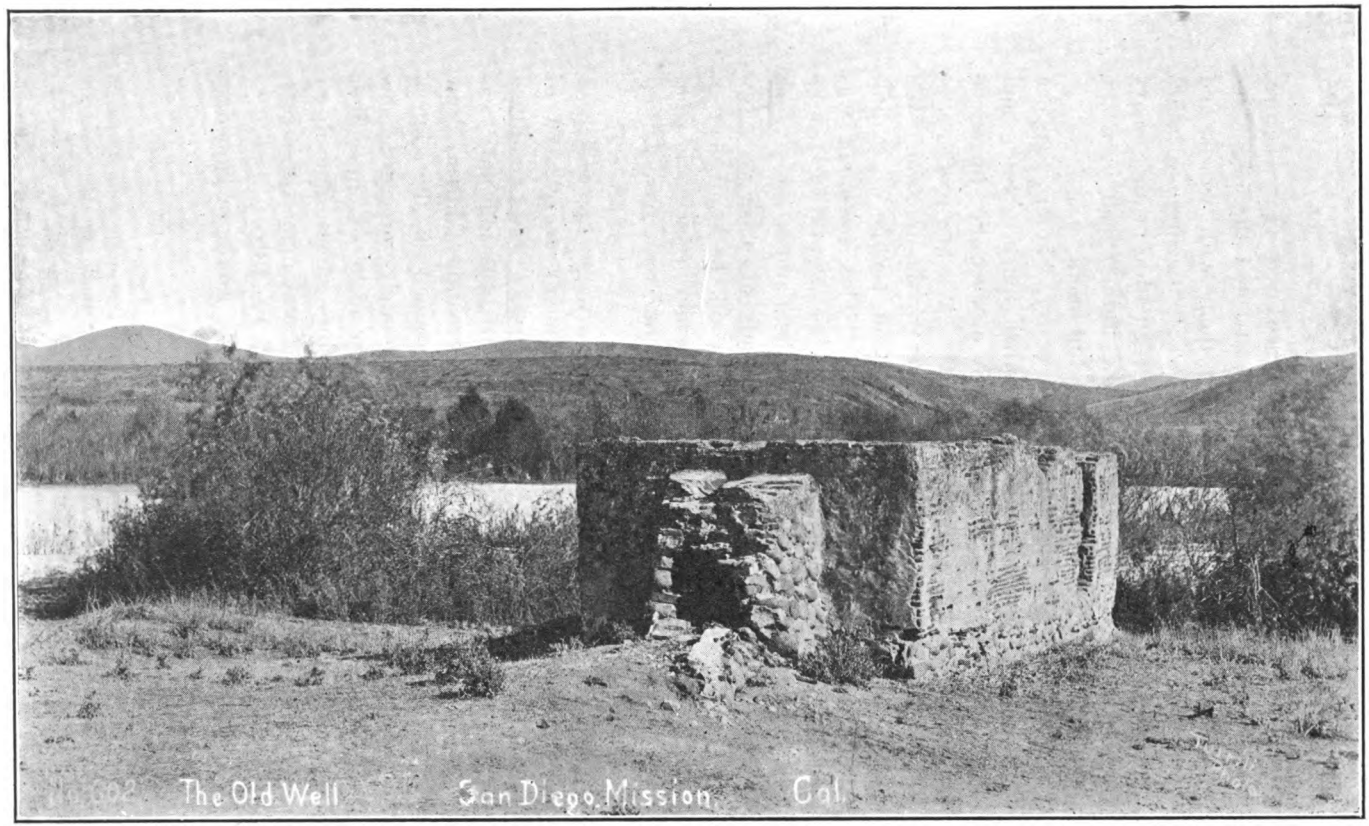

DOUBLE WELL OF BRICK AND MASONRY USED FOR IRRIGATION

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after 1816. The only statement regarding building affairs occurs in the report of 1820. In this year new granaries were erected on the ruins of the old ones. Similarly, the Fathers had to confine themselves to keeping things in repair from year to year.

With the year 1820 the Fathers became particular about reporting what was procured for the interior of the church. For instance, on December 31, ten new rochets, cassocks for the altar boys, and some corporals were added to the supply in the sacristy. Subsequent additions were

In 1823, five new albs, three corporals, three amices, two surplices, seven purificators, seven finger towels;

In 1824, five new albs, two corporals, four amices, two purificators, four finger towels, one cincture;

In 1825, six new albs, two *manteles,* two amices, one cincture, one carpet;

In 1826, one new red chasuble, three albs, four amices, seven towels, one white *terno;*

In 1827, one black cope, one white antependium, a piece of shoulder cloth—*pano de ombros;*

In 1830, one red cope, four *manteles;*

In 1831, twelve new altar cloths.

No further mention of church articles is made. Implements also were procured from year to year to replace worn out material. Exact reports were made on the spiritual affairs, and on the live stock and the yield of the fields, all of which will be found in tabulated form later.

There is little else to be noted during the decade, save one important undertaking. While continuing their daily mission routine, the zealous Fathers at the same time endeavored to include in their great family the Indians of the sierra district. Numerous applications came from these for admission into the fold. These Indians were instructed as well as possible, put on probation, and then baptized. But the missionaries did not insist that they live at the mission because the establishment could not support them and because the converts seemed to belong to a less low

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class of savages. At a very early date converts were gained from a district called Santa Isabél. In order to facilitate conversions in that region, the Fathers desired to establish an *assistencia* or sub-mission there. But this could not be done without the governor's permit; for, under the unfortunate system in vogue in the Spanish dominions, the ministers of Religion had more to consult than the needs of the people. When it came to forming a little parish or a new mission, or when a house of worship was to be erected, even if it was to cost the government nothing, as was the case in California, the secular authorities had to be petitioned, and these very frequently looked to other motives than the needs of the people. A long time might elapse before the permit would be granted. Such was the case with regard to the petition which the Fathers of San Diego, encouraged by the Father Prefecto during his visit in August, 1816, addressed to Governor Solá, on October 12, and December 19, 1816. At the next visit of the Fr. Prefecto, two years later, on July 23, 1818, no progress had as yet been made toward accomplishing the plan so much desired by the missionaries and the Indians as well. Once more, on October 13, 1818, Fr. Sanchez petitioned the governor for the permit to erect a chapel for the 230 Indians at Santa Isabél.[27] But in vain. Then Fr. Sarría in person but with no better success approached Solá on the subject, as we find in the following communication to Fr. Payeras:

> In the place called Santa Isabél, toward the sierra, they count a goodly number of baptized souls, about two hundred, and there are prospects of more conversions. It is a place visited every fifteen days by the Fathers, who have for more than a year been desirous of erecting a chapel there. For the present I have determined nothing on account of some impediments which remain to be looked after; but having in the last year seen that neither all nor many of the Indians could come to the mission, I told the Fathers to go there occasionally and to celebrate holy Mass on a portable altar, even though in consequence the presidio might lose holy Mass on a feast day. This they have done sometimes, and, as I understand, with much

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[27] *Archb. Arch.*, nos. 523, 843.

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fruit. I also asked the governor for a permit for the formal erection of a chapel, but he manifested some repugnance to the petition. Then he told me he would ask for information from the commander of the San Diego presidio. Thus far the matter has proceeded, and I was expecting him to speak to me about it. San Carlos, February 2, 1819.[28]

Meanwhile the two Fathers at the mission resolved to take the matter into their own hands, as we see from the Baptismal Record. "On September 20, 1818," Fr. Fernando Martin writes, "in the Rancho Elcuanam, where a beginning is being made for a new foundation (mission), the site having been blessed which will have to serve for a chapel in the future, after celebrating the holy Sacrifice of Mass, I baptized solemnly, using water which I took from the Baptismal font of this church of San Diego and administering also the holy Oils, the following children and adults, after they had been instructed as well as possible during a period of fourteen days." The newly baptized appear under numbers 4,274-4,392. Some of them were from San Felipe or Teguila.

On the twenty-third of the same month, Fr. Sanchez, at the same place where Fr. Martin had baptized three days before, administered Baptism to thirty-two male and female adults. This seems to show that the Fathers had decided to put up at least a temporary chapel, until the governor should authorize a permanent building. Before these dates, save in case of necessity or *in articulo mortis* of a petitioner, the Fathers had baptized a great many from Santa Isabél and from San Felipe, but always at the mission. Sunday, September 20, 1818, may therefore be celebrated as the day on which Fr. Fernando Martin founded the Santa Isabél chapel and *assistencia*. Fr. Sanchez, who had remained at the mission for the Sunday, came up for the twenty-third which was a Wednesday, to complete the festivities. Thenceforth Baptisms from that place were always entered in these terms. "In the Chapel of the place called Santa Isabél by us and

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[28] *Sta. Barb. Arch.* and *Mission Register.*

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Elcuanam by the natives, with water which I took from the Font of this church of San Diego, etc.," as Fr. Sanchez, for instance, writes on September 7, 1819, and again on January 25, 1820.

A permanent chapel was eventually erected, but the date is not known. In 1822, it was reported that the *assistencia* of Santa Isabél comprised a chapel, a granary, several houses, a cemetery, and an Indian population of 450 neophytes.

A writer in the *Land of Sunshine* notes the fate of Santa Isabél thus: "Far in the 'back country,' sixty miles or so from San Diego, in a region untrodden by the tourist, are the ruins of the Mission of Santa Ysabél.[29] Leveled by time and washed by winter rains, the adobe walls of the church have sunk into indistinguishable heaps of earth which vaguely define the outlines of the ancient edifice.

"The bells remain, hung no longer in a belfry but on a rude framework of logs. A tall cross made of two saplings nailed in shape marks the consecrated spot. Beyond it rise the walls of the brush building, ramada, woven of green wattled boughs, which does duty for a church on Sundays and on the rare occasions of a visit from the priest who makes a yearly pilgrimage to these outlying portions of his parish. On Sunday, the general of the tribe acts as lay reader and recites the services. Then and on Saturday nights, the bells are rung. One bears the date 1723, the other 1767. A bullet hole in the side of one of them commemorates equally the accuracy of the aim and the sacrilegious motive of some forgotten soldier.

"Opposite the church is the cemetery, a small enclosure carefully guarded from intrusion by a tall picket fence. A bare wooden cross rises in the center, and at the head of each little mound formed of the dry sun-baked earth, a small cross is placed, emblem of a hope beyond this world of unrighted wrongs." [30]

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[29] Santa Isabél was only a mission station of San Diego.

[30] Vol. xi, November, 1899, pp. 318-319.

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CHAPTER IX.

Vancouver Arrives.—His Observations.—Fr. Lasuén.—The Soldiers.—Labor not Dishonorable.—The Presidio.—Fort at Point Guijarros.—Death of Lt. Grajera.—Presidio Force.—Population.—Officials.—Dispensation from Abstinence.—*Interrogatorio y Respuesta.*—Character and Habits of the Indians.—Murders.—Punishments.—Horse-stealing.—Its Punishments.—Methods True and False for Securing Converts.—Smythe's Foolish Charge.—Unjust Demands on the Missions.—More Absurdities from Smythe.—The Franciscans.—More Demands on the Mission.—Crops.—Population.—Contributions Apportioned.

DOWN at the presidio and town of San Diego, Lieutenant José de Zuñiga had meanwhile, in May, 1792, been promoted to the rank of captain of infantry and placed in charge of the Presidio of Tucson, Sonora, now Arizona. In October, 1793, Lieutenant Antonio Grajera succeeded him. It was at this time that the English navigator Captain George Vancouver with the British sloop of war *Discovery* appeared in the harbor and created a stir in the sleepy settlement.

"About two in the afternoon of Wednesday, November 27, 1793," he writes, "we anchored in ten fathoms of water, fine sandy bottom, at the usual place of anchorage in the harbor. . . . Punta de Guiranos (Guijarros, a low spit of land, projecting from the high steep cliffs within the former, and which, properly speaking, constitutes the west point of the entrance into the port. . . . The presidio of San Diego bore N. 21 E., distant three miles and a half, and the nearest shore northwest, within a quarter of a mile of our anchorage." After visiting the officials at the presidio and after taking wood and fresh water on board, Vancouver prepared to depart on Saturday, December 7; but "the wind coming from the south," he relates, "prevented our sailing the next day as I intended, but I did not regret the detention, as it afforded me the pleasure of a visit

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from our very highly esteemed and venerable friend, the Fr. Presidente of the missionaries of the Franciscan Order in this country, who was then on a visitation to the several missions between San Francisco and this port, where he had arrived the preceding evening from San Juan Capistrano. He expressed much concern that our departure was so near at hand, since the great fertility of San Juan Capistrano's would have enabled him to add abundantly to our stock of refreshments. I had great difficulty to prevail on the Father President to desist from sending to San Juan's for the supplies he had proposed, as in all probability we should have sailed before they could have arrived.

"The enjoyment of the society of this worthy character was of short duration; it however afforded me the satisfaction of personally acknowledging the obligation we were under for the friendly services that had been conferred upon us by the missionaries under his immediate direction and government; being perfectly assured that however well disposed the several individuals might have been to have shown the kind attention we had received, the cordial interest with which the Father President had, on all occasions, so warmly espoused our interests, must have been of no small importance to our comfort. This consideration, in addition to the esteem I had conceived for his character, induced me to solicit his acceptance of a handsome barelled organ, which, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of climate, was still in complete order and repair. This was received with great pleasure, and abundant thanks, and was to be appropriated to the use and ornament of the new church at the presidency of the mission of San Carlos.

"The Mission (of San Diego) is not conspicuous from the situation," Vancouver remarks, on the occasion of his visit in December, 1794, "nor does it command an extensive prospect." [1]

There is no record of any agricultural operations what-

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1 *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. ii, pp. 471-472.

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ever at or near the presidio outside the mission, Bancroft tells us, nor were there any private ranchos in the whole region before 1800.[2] Vancouver essays an explanation. "The military," he declares, "do nothing, in the strictest sense of the expression; for they neither till, sow, nor reap, but wholly depend on the labor of the inhabitants of the missions and pueblos for their subsistence, and the common necessaries of life. To reconcile this inactivity whilst they remain on duty in the presidio, with the meritorious exertions that the same description of people are seen to make in the pueblos, is certainly a very difficult task; and the contradiction would have remained very prejudicial to their character, had I not been informed that to support the consequence of the soldier in the eyes of the natives, and to insure him their respect, it had been deemed highly improper that he should be subjected to any laborious employment. This circumstance alone is sufficient to account for the habitual indolence and want of industry in the military part of the societies."[3]

The excuse offered was only a pretext to cover the inveterate laziness of the Mexican soldiers, who were recruited to a large extent from the scum of Mexican society and from convicts. The missionaries, men of learning, and frequently of noble blood, did manual labor of every kind; yet in no way did they suffer in the esteem of the Indians. On the contrary, they endeared themselves to the Indians, besides setting them an example of industry. Because of the lack of useful employment, time hung heavy on the hands of the soldiers, and this naturally bred mischief. Here lies the secret of much of the hostility the missionaries and their wards encountered on the part of the military. While the mother country provided the soldiers with food and clothing, the troubles were not so poignant; but, when with the year 1812 supplies failed to come from Mexico, on

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2 *History of California*, vol. i, p. 648.

3 Vancouver, *Voyage*, vol. ii, pp. 496.

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account of the ill-fated and ill-advised revolt of Hidalgo, a veritable martyrdom began for the Franciscans and their neophytes, as may be seen in the third and fourth volumes of the General History. No, it was not that the soldiers would have lost the esteem of the Indians by using their spare time in cultivating gardens and raising stock with a view to have something for a rainy day, or to support themselves independently of the poor Indians, but because, worse than the savages, the soldiers disdained to work. Here we must except the Catalonian Volunteers, however, who were Spaniards with a good sense of the fitness of things. As a sample, it may be noted here that in 1796, at the request of Governor Borica, Comandante Grájera in vain tried to induce the Mexican youths at San Diego to learn trades; some of them deemed the mere request an insult.[4] The comandante was ordered to call together parents who had objected to having their sons apprenticed to mechanical occupations. He was directed to tell them that they were acting against their own interests; that it was plainly advantageous for the youths to be enabled to support themselves by honest labor and that in the meantime they should be kindly treated, well fed and clothed, and given a regular education. Borica then ordered a list of boys between the ages of seven and eighteen to be forwarded to him at Monterey.[5]

Unfortunately, the soldiers themselves were not compelled by the governor to be usefully occupied. When parents and children alike grew up idlers, it was easy to guess what the consequences would be. No wonder the troubles of the missionaries were immensely augmented by the neighborhood of the idle, shiftless, vicious, gambling, and frequently drunken whites, who should have been an example to the Indians.

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[4] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.*, xiv, p. 16, as per Bancroft, vol. i, p. 652.

[5] *Cal. Arch., Prov. Records*, v, 400-407. See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, p. 475.

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However, from 900 to 1,200 head of live stock were kept, including the military company's horses and mules. Though this entailed little manual labor, it afforded the youths and adults opportunities for enjoying themselves on horseback, and provided them with flesh meat, at least. Each year, in Mexico, an appropriation was made from the royal treasury for presidio expenses, which varied from $14,000 to $15,000. For this amount goods with a small amount of coin were sent by means of the transports that plied between San Diego and San Blas. The Catalonian Volunteers and the artillery men, mentioned before, here and at other presidios, received supplies to the value of $15,000 a year, of which about one-third went to the men stationed at San Diego till 1803. Supplies for them were also obtained from the missions during the three last years of the century, for which the presidio was indebted to them for about $10,000.[6]

"The Presidio of San Diego," says Vancouver, "seemed to be the least of the Spanish settlements. It is irregularly built, on very uneven ground. . . . The situation of it is dreary and lonesome, in the midst of a barren, uncultivated country, producing so little herbage, that excepting in the spring months, their cattle are sent to the distance of twenty or thirty miles for pasturage. . . . This interior country, although more productive in point of grass, is not very prolific in grain, pulse, fruits, roots, or other culinary vegetables. I understood that they are frequently obliged to resort for supply of these articles to the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, which abounded in vegetables and animal productions, consisting of great herds of cattle, flocks of sheep and goats; and I was assured that it was one of the most fertile establishments in the country. . . . With little difficulty the presidio might be rendered a place of considerable strength, by establishing a small force at the entrance of the port where at this time there were neither works, guns, houses, or other habitations nearer than the

[6] Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 648-649.

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presidio which is at the distance of at least five miles from the port, and where they have only three small pieces of brass cannon."[7]

The defect noticed by Vancouver was remedied in 1795 when Point Guijarros, Cobblestone Point, was selected as the site of a fort. Preparations were at once begun. Two or three laborers and the necessary timber went down by sea from Monterey. Santa Barbara furnished the axletrees and wheels for ten carts, while bricks and tiles were hauled from the presidio to the beach and taken across to the point in a flatboat. Before March, 1797, $9,020 had been expended. Nothing more is known of the extent of the work; but by the year 1803 it served its purpose very well; for in that year the *Lelia Byrd,* an American smuggler, in attempting to pass the point was nearly sunk by the balls discharged at her under command of Corporal José Velasquez. A project to open a road round the bay to connect Point Guijarros with the presidio was under consideration in 1798.[8]

Vancouver, the English navigator, named the point opposite Ballast Point, at the entrance to San Diego, Zuñiga Point in honor of its former commander. Zuñiga Shoals, however, "abreast the eastern side of Point Loma, and parallel therewith, at a distance of two-thirds of a mile," was so named by Sebastian Viscáino in 1602 for Viceroy Zuñiga, Count of Monterey.[9]

By the year 1799, Lieutenant Antonio Grájera's excessive use of liquors had rendered him unfit for service. Having obtained leave of absence to visit Mexico, he sailed away on the *Concepcion,* but died two days out from the port, on January 18, 1800. Ensign Manuel Rodriguez succeeded him as commander of the port, and he was promoted to the lieutenancy in July, 1801. The corporals and privates, with

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7 Vancouver, *Voyages,* vol. ii, pp. 495, 501.

8 Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 651-652; vol. ii, pp. 11-14; 102-104.

9 Davidson, *Pacific Coast Pilot,* p. 17.

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generally an armorer and carpenter, varied in number but slightly from fifty-seven during the last decade of the century, not including the retired soldiers or invalids, who gradually increased from four in 1792 to fifteen in 1800. From this force twenty-seven to thirty-three men were constantly detached to form guards for the five missions, including San Miguel, Lower California, and the town of Los Angeles. In 1796, Lieutenant José Font with twenty-five Catalonian Volunteers came up from Mexico and they were stationed here till their return in 1803. At the same time, six artillerymen under Sergeant José Rocha arrived and increased the force to nearly ninety men. The whole white population of the district consisted of two hundred and fifty souls, according to Bancroft, but according to official reports there were 112 white men, that is to say, not Indian, 58 white women, 78 white boys, and 51 white girls, or in all 299 souls. Of these, 160 lived at the presidio; the rest were scattered in the missions or were located at the pueblo as pensioners. In 1800, eight foundling children were sent up from Mexico to live at San Diego.[10]

Ensign Francisco Maria Ruiz of Santa Barbara, at the end of 1805 was promoted to the lieutenancy and appointed acting commander of San Diego to succeed Captain Manuel Rodriguez, who in 1806 was promoted to the office of habilitado general for the Californias with residence in Mexico. Late in 1807, Captain Raimundo Carrillo took charge; but he died in November, 1809. His daughter, in 1804, married José de la Guerra y Noriega who at the time was ensign at Santa Barbara. Ruiz then became commander and remained in charge till 1827, although he did not enjoy the rank of captain till 1820. The presidio obtained supplies from the missions of the district as follows: in 1804, to the amount of $4,000; in 1806, to the amount of $5,500; and in 1807, to the amount of $7,700. The records of other years are not extant, according to

[10] Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 646, 648.

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Bancroft.[11] This historian also notes particularly that in the said years the presidio officials collected annually $75, and in 1811 as much as $111, from the distribution of *Papal Bulls,* which in other places he ignorantly calls *Papal Indulgences.*[12] These were nothing more than certificates entitling the holder to the privilege of using flesh meat on certain days of abstinence. They had to be renewed each year and could be procured from government officials in consideration of a small contribution, twenty-five cents for ordinary people once a year. The poor had to pay nothing for them. Neither the missionaries nor any other official of the Church received any portion of this revenue. All went into the royal treasury. It was a privilege granted by the Popes to the Spanish kings in acknowledgment of the services which the Spanish rulers and people had rendered and the sacrifices they made in behalf of Christianity in the wars against the Mohamedans.[13]

In 1812, the Spanish Government for some reason or other sent to all civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the dominion of Spain an "Interrogatorio" or list of questions regarding the natives in their pagan state. The missionaries of California received this list through the Bishop of Sonora. The replies were laid down in a document called "Respuesta—Answer." Omitting the questions for the sake of brevity and because they can be readily inferred, we here subjoin entire the answers of the two missionaries of Mission San Diego to the thirty-six questions. They throw a clear light on the Indians of the district in their pagan state.

"Respuesta

The undersigned Fathers of Mission San Diego de Nípaguay respond to the questions of the Interrogatorio which His Excellency Don Ciriano Gonzales Carvajal, Secretary

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11 Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 651-652; vol. ii, pp. 11-14; 98-104, 340.

12 Bancroft, vol. ii, pp. 167, 343.

13 For a full discussion of this subject see ***Missions and Missionaries,*** vol. iii, pp. 620-623.

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ad interim of the Guvernacion del Reino de Ultramar, directed to the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Sonora, and by whose orders the Rev. José Joaquin Calvo sent it to the Very Rev. Fr. José Señan, Presidente of the Missions of Upper California.

1. In this Mission of San Diego, two classes of people are attended, the neophytes and the military of the adjoining presidio of San Diego, among whom there is but one European.

2. The native home of the neophytes is the mission and its neighborhood.

3. The idiom which the neophytes speak is the Language of MAU. It is so called because for the word yes they say SAA, and for no they say MAU. They understand and speak also our Castilian language, especially the young people.

4. In these neophytes, much affection between man and wife is observed; for at the death of either, the survivor weeps much and goes about sad; this is more common among the old people. The parents love their children to excess; for by every means they seek to feed them. They suffer want themselves rather than let their children feel it; and this is general with all. The parents train their children; for it is noticed that, when they do wrong, the parents exhort, reprove, and even punish them; but this is not common with all. They are excessively averse to labor and mechanical arts but the vigilant missionaries make them apply themselves to labor and mechanical arts, and the Indians learn any task with facility.

5. There is noticed in these neophytes a good deal of fondness for the Europeans and Americans; for they wish to serve them and to live with them. No hatred or rancor is observed.

6. Already answered.

7. No inclination to learn to read or write is noticed; for no vestige is found which would demonstrate that they at any time used characters. But the missionaries, indeed,

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put one or the other to writing and reading, and these learn with facility. They use our paper for it.

8. To this mission come every year from paganism those who desire to be Christians, and a large proportion are old people. It is difficult for them to learn to speak the Castilian tongue. The most suitable method to induce them to speak is the one we follow, that is, to exhort and admonish them and to threaten punishment; to the young people punishment is sometimes applied. The causes which have hindered them in using the Castilian language we do not know.

9. The virtues of compassion, charity, and generosity are noticed, especially in the women.

10. They are very fond of participating in the Feast of the Bird called Gavilan (Hawk), which consists in searching with much anxiety for that bird. They invite one another to hunt for it. This is owing to the fact that there are at this mission certain neophytes who are very smart, though very poor at the work of collecting seeds. Hence, when they want food, they take up the plan of searching for that bird. They deceive the more simple-minded and tell them that the bird is a real person who can liberate them from their enemies and who grants them whatever they ask. Under this supposition, though false, the simpletons believe with such obstinacy, that they take as much care of the bird as the most affectionate mother would show for her child. For as soon as they have caught the bird, they treat it to whatever they hunt or chase, and of the seeds gathered they always give it the best. After they have raised it, they kill it; then they burn it and while it is consuming on the pyre, they offer it the collected seeds, beads, and whatever they prize. In the following year, they search for another hawk and treat it in the same manner. The method used to break them of this foolishness is to appoint a few good Indians to watch over this particular affair; and all who are caught practicing it are severely punished in public.

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11. In this Mission we use and observe the catechism (in the native as well as in the Castilian language) which our Superiors have prescribed.

12. Answered under number 10.

13. In the moral as well as in the political order progress is noticed.

14. When a young man thinks of getting married, he goes to the house of the parents of the desired girl, or to that of her nearest relative, and asks her of them. If the girl consents, they immediately go to the house of the missionaries, where the young people present themselves accompanied by the parents and the witnesses, and declare in the presence of the missionaries that they desire to marry. If there is no impediment, the marriage takes place.

15. They have no other curative methods than those which the missionaries or some other white person may apply to the Indians. For, although this country is favored with many medicinal herbs, the Indians do not use them, nor have they used them at any time. There are certain shrewd neophytes who call themselves *Guisiyag,* which means wizard. The method they employ in curing diseases is that as soon as an Indian is found to be sick, the relatives approach or summon the guisiyag. This fellow comes with a stone or a stick or some hair concealed in his mouth, which he applies to the suffering part. Then he commences to extract or suck from the said part and on withdrawing shows what he had concealed in his mouth and persuades the patient that this is was that ailed him. At this they are all quiet and content, since it appears to them that the patient is already freed from his malady. From this it may be inferred that their greatest infirmity and ailment is melancholy and apprehension. However, the most widespread malady is the *morbo venereo.* For the last four years, in this part of the territory, deaths have exceeded Baptisms. In the last year of 1814, the deaths were 118, while the Baptisms were only 75. In this number are included the gentile adults who have been baptized.

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16. The seasons of the year are known by the leaves on the trees, by the plants in the fields, and by the harvest of the various grains. The Indians have not and never had a calendar. They are guided merely by the sun and the moon.

17. The missionaries provide food for the neophytes. In the morning it consists of *atole* or a gruel of barley, wheat, or corn. At noon they get *pozole,* which consists of the same grains boiled. In the evening the meal is the same as in the morning. Every fifteen days, twenty-four head of cattle are slaughtered. More is not given because the condition of the mission permits no more.

18. We are not aware that they use any fermented beverage; but they have occasion, indeed, to drink wine and aguardiente to excess (at the presidio).

19. Answered under number 10.

20. The Indians are not eager to preserve the customs of their forefathers. They say that they came from the north to these lands.

21. In their burials they observe no ceremonial whatever. What they do is this: at the death of any one, the relatives of the deceased, in the presence of the missionaries, throw a few seeds of grain into the grave, and then raise a wail which lasts for some days.

22. They are little trustworthy in their dealings and words.

23. They are inclined to tell lies, especially in reporting anything incriminating; for they dread chastisement and that is the reason for their lying.

24. The dominant vices in them are impurity, stealing, and murder.

25. They readily loan things to one another and without interest.

26. As they lead a community life under the direction of the missionaries, the latter apportion the labor and the sustenance.

27. The Indians are much inclined to pride and rancor;

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the men persecute one another to death out of jealousy or for some other grievance; the women, when they are angered at their men, or when the men have dealings with other women, may revenge themselves for such grievances by committing suicide.

28. Answered under number 10.

29. Among the pagans no other idolatry is observed than the Feast of the Bird, after the manner described under number 10. The ceremonial which they observe at their burials consists in burning the body; while it is burning, they throw seeds on the fire and raise a cry accompanied by weeping, which lasts for days and even for months.

30. Since the neophytes live in community, they have no private property and therefore they are neither rich nor effeminate.

31. The neophytes of the Mission are equal as to food and clothing, which is all they possess.

32. The male and female neophytes of this Mission serve the military of the presidio nearby, because they voluntarily desire to serve them. The latter then have the same obligations as the Fathers, that is to say, they must feed and clothe the neophytes, attend to their education, and give them a good example.

33. These neophytes have not and never had other musical instruments than a timbrel which has a disagreeable sound. However, the Fathers have procured some musical instruments, and the neophytes play them with some ability; they would be proficient if they had someone to perfect them, for they are very fond of our musical instruments.

34. In this Mission there are not and never have been men distinguished in literature or in arms.

35. It is known that the Indians have an idea of eternity, of a reward and punishment, of a final judgment, of purgatory, hell, and heaven; for some live continent, others confess during the year, many at Easter time, and at the hour of death all anxiously plead for the holy Sacraments.

36. These neophytes are dressed in overalls and a blanket and wear a sash half a yard wide around the waist. The

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women wear chemise, gown, and blanket or shawl. Mission San Diego, December 23, 1814.—Fr. Fernando Martin, Fr. José Sanchez." [14]

There were some vicious characters among the neophytes of San Diego Mission, and the fact that many had to be allowed to live most of the time in their distant rancherías away from the control of the missionaries scarcely helped the Indians to curb their passions. Late in 1814, for instance, three Indians, called Francisco, Fermin, and Fernando, who were neophytes only in name, murdered the mayordomo of the mission, whose name was Miguel. The affair was reported to the viceroy in February, 1815, but the fate of the criminals is not known, as no documents appear to have been preserved.[15]

A similar case was that of Vicente Acevedo of San Diego, who in April, 1815, was accused of having stabbed his wife. He claimed that he did so because she had put some herbs into his porridge. Of course, that was as true as Indian accusations generally were, for instance those against the missionaries, and it was sure that he made it only to cover some misdeed of his own. In the trial, it became evident that he had attempted the life of his wife in order to rid himself of her, so that he could live with another woman. On August 1, 1815, he was sentenced to receive daily for nine days twenty-five lashes at the door of the guardhouse of Mission San Diego in the presence of the other Indians, as a lesson to them, and then he was put in chains. The woman he coveted was sentenced to receive daily twelve lashes in the women's apartments, and then to be kept a prisoner there among the single women; and finally she was turned over to the care of the missionaries.

Horse-stealing developed early. The culprits were not unceremoniously hanged as was the case among the rovers

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[14] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[15] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, xxxxvi, p. 7, Bancroft Collection.

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on the western wilds; for after all, human life, even that of an Indian, was regarded more than that of any number of horses; but the punishment inflicted produced a lasting effect on the individual. For instance, in September, 1816, Governor Solá directed Comandante Ruiz of San Diego to apply to some Indians, who had stolen horses, a novena of twenty-five lashes, that is to say, twenty-five stripes a day for nine days, then to put them in chains, and to engage them in labor at the presidio for six years.[16]

Nothing else of importance seems to have occurred in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. "It was an uneventful period even for San Diego, always the dullest place in the province," as Bancroft writes. "As elsewhere the inhabitants had the ever-increasing destitution" (due, we may add, to the revolt in Mexico and to the indolence of the local soldiery and their relatives) "as a subject for thought and conversation, too often without cigarettes to clear the minds for a proper consideration of the problem. Only twice did they see upon their fine bay the sail of any craft except that of their own flat-boat plying lazily to and from Point Guijarros, when Wilcox in the *Traveler* came for a load of grain in September, 1817, and the whaler *Discovery* refitted in the port in August, 1820. There was some kind of school at San Diego during a part of the decade." [17]

After 1811, neither stipends for the missionaries nor salaries for the military, to be paid in goods designated, came from Mexico, owing to the revolt then raging in that unhappy country. The Fathers regretted the non-appearance of the annual transports with the *Memorias* only for the sake of their dusky wards; for they could no longer delight them with various kinds of gifts such as solicitous fathers provide for their children, and among which even

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[16] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, xxxxvi, pp. 8-9. Bancroft Collection.

[17] Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 343-344.

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fireworks used to figure. Nor could they offer anything but home products to attract the savages to the mission family; for of beads and other gaudy trinkets the pagans were even more fond than the neophytes. Hence a strong means of increasing the number of converts was lost; for other methods of winning over the savages were not employed, the bold assertion of mission enemies to the contrary notwithstanding.

The reader will excuse us if we dwell on this point a little longer, because an apparently so well-meaning author as William A. Smythe, and that as late as 1908, asserts in his *History of San Diego* [18] that "the missionaries were so deeply in earnest to bring souls to Christ that they did not hesitate to employ the military arm as a means of forcible conversion. There is reason to believe that whole villages were sometimes surrounded and their inhabitants driven to the missions."

A little knowledge of Catholic doctrine and practice and less gullibility would have prevented Smythe from penning such an outrageous statement. All the villages in the San Diego district are known and enumerated, as we shall see later. Which whole village, nay, which family of any such village, was treated in the manner alleged? No such forcible winning for Christ occurred anywhere in California, much less at the San Diego Mission, where most of the neophytes did not live at that establishment at all. Furthermore, the soldiers were not at the disposal of the missionaries for any such purpose. And even if the military had been free to assist in such nefarious action, the Fathers could not have employed them for such a purpose, because a Baptism administered to any one so brought to the mission would have been null and void, and would have subjected the priest to the heaviest censures.

Nor does Smythe prove his assertion by referring to Robinson's *Life in California,* where the author says that

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[18] Vol. i, pp. 60-61.

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"it is not unusual to see numbers of the Indians driven along by the alcaldes, and under the whip's lash forced to the very doors of the sanctuary." Robinson is not an impartial witness. He had become a Catholic because a Spanish lady would not have otherwise consented to marry him; it would seem, however, that Baptism had not entirely washed out of him every anti-Catholic rubbish. He was, therefore, like many another well-meaning writer, prone to believe without examining the facts closely. At Mission San Diego he had tarried only once and that for two hours about noon, at a time when there was no divine service in church. Besides, suppose the case was as he puts it, the said Indian alcalde or foreman did no worse than school teachers were, at least formerly, accustomed to do. These, too, could be seen with whip in hand taking care that their unruly boys marched to the classes in an orderly manner. So much for the bubble.

For themselves the Franciscan missionaries in this and in the other missions cared little whether or not any supplies arrived from Mexico, although they needed habits and underwear and sandals, which, however, were hereafter made in the mission shops by the neophytes. Church goods, too, could be similarly provided or obtained from merchant vessels in exchange for grain and hides and tallow. What the Fathers felt keenly was that after 1811, the whole military, from the governor down to the last worthless soldier, demanded that the mission furnish every necessity of the department, from tortilla to uniform and weapons, either in kind or in coin. Thousands of dollars were collected from the missions in the shape of money contributions. Others there were in the territory who profited by the presence of the soldiery, namely, the white settlers and rancheros with their large flocks; but on these no such calls for contributions were made. As the missionaries possessed nothing and received nothing for managing the missions save what they wore and ate, they and their neophytes had either to produce by combined efforts what the heartless, indolent soldiery demanded or be threatened with forcible seizure

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of the mission property. Even the obtuse mind of the Indian perceived the injustice they were made to suffer. Why should they labor and see the white people alone thrive thereon? They had not joined the mission family for that purpose, but for the sake of providing for themselves and their families under the expert and disinterested guidance of the priest whom they trusted implicitly and obeyed cheerfully, seeing how well he improved and preserved everything for them. It is evident that under such condition no white man would have remained at the mission. Is the Indian to be blamed then, if he chafed under regulations which virtually made him a slave of the soldiers and degraded the missionary to the level of a mere overseer of a slave plantation? Yet, out of higher motives, both the Indians and the Fathers remained, although it required all the ingenuity, and piety, and heartfelt sympathy of the missionaries to quiet their Indian neophytes and to make them submit to the yoke which the military imposed upon them. Such was the affection the Indian harbored for their spiritual guides, as Smythe might have known from Forbes, pages 277, 414, and 557. These and none other are the historical facts on the subjects. Now let us quote other absurd and unjust assertions of Smythe, which are really but a rehash of the ebullitions of bigoted writers and of the mission despoilers.

That the good Fathers, he says, thought it more important to save the souls of the Indian than to spare their feelings or their backs, is easily susceptible of belief; for the missionary zeal knew no bounds. Better a converted soul in chains than a free heathen! There is no doubt that they sincerely subscribed to this doctrine, and they were no more fanatic than many others of their time all over the world. Nevertheless, the fair-minded student will not forget that while they were saving souls they were organizing a mass of cheap labor which worked for the enrichment of the Franciscan Order, and founding settlements which they thought would secure the permanent possession of an opulent land for the benefit of their sovereign. In other words, their duty and interest happened to be the same, and they had thus a double motive for what they did. They thought it was good religion and good statesmanship.[19]

[19] Smythe, vol. i, p. 61.

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"AND HE COMMANDED THEM THAT THEY SHOULD TAKE NOTHING FOR THE WAY, BUT A STAFF ONLY: NO SCRIP, NO BREAD, NOR MONEY IN THEIR PURSE, BUT BE SHOD WITH SANDALS, AND THAT THEY SHOULD NOT PUT ON TWO COATS."—MATTHEW, VI, 8-9. SO THEY CAME AND DEPARTED.

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Here we have a blind man describing colors. Smythe published his work before he had an opportunity to study the mass of evidence in the present writer's five volumes; else he would not have put so much nonsense and untruth into one paragraph. The reader is referred to our first and second volume for the true status of the Franciscans, and to the third and fourth volume for the attitude of the Franciscans from the time when the supplies failed to arrive until the restoration of the mission properties to the Catholic Church by the United States Government. Had Smythe seen the historical facts collected there, he would not have penned this additional falsehood: "There were great opportunities for making money, and the shrewd priests made the most of them. They were bent upon the enrichment of their Order because this meant a constant increase of their power." [20]

The truth is, the Franciscans did not enrich themselves nor their Order by as much as a dollar. They had made the vow of poverty before they set foot in California, and they returned to Mexico or died at their post as poor as they had come. Nothing whatsoever went to their missionary college, although free of cost it trained and supplied the missionaries for California. If authors and writers are so commercialized that they can neither imagine nor appreciate such unselfishness and therefore conclude that the Franciscans in the missions aimed at material profit in return for their labors, such writers may know themselves, but they certainly have no conception of the character and principles of the Franciscans who devoted themselves to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the California Indians.

When the soldiers wanted something for themselves or their families, the missions would be called upon by the commander of the presidio to supply it, regardless of the needs of the neophytes. For instance, on June 15, 1821, temporary Comandante José Maria Estudillo requested the

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[20] Ibidem, p. 68.

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missions of San Diego, San Luis Rey, and San Juan Capistrano to deliver a certain amount of grain and cereals. Poor Mission San Diego contributed 200 fanegas or 333 bushels of corn and 44 fanegas or 73 bushels of beans. The preceding harvest had yielded only 28 fanegas or 43 bushels of corn, but no beans. Fortunately, however, the yield of the year 1821 was unusually large—2,120 fanegas or 3,530 bushels of corn and 100 fanegas or 166 bushels of beans. At the time, the Indian population of the mission comprised 335 married couples, 170 male and 169 female children under ten years of age, 126 widowers and 142 widows, 270 unmarried men and 75 unmarried women, in all 1,622 souls. On the other hand, the garrison in 1822 comprised 60 private soldiers, seven corporals, and two sergeants, besides the commander. Of these, 37 soldiers, two corporals, and the two sergeants were married and had children.[21] A tabulated demand made by the presidio of San Diego for various supplies will give the reader some idea of what the poor Indian establishment had to provide for the lazy soldiers who lorded it over them. It bears the following superscription: "Description of what is very much needed for the maintenance and equipment of the company at the Presidio of San Diego, and for the support of their families, which in agreement with the Very Rev. Fr. Commissary Prefect, Fr. Mariano Payeras, has been apportioned and must be supplied by the four missions of this jurisdiction, during the year 1822." The articles demanded were

60 knapsacks,
40 muskets,
40 leather shields,
240 pairs of shoes, for the presidio alone,
40 cartridge pouches,
80 woolen garters,
20 sides of leather,

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[21] *Archb. Arch.*, nos. 1,223, 2,539.

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69 riding blankets,
88 common blankets,
600 gajol para cor. de criaturas,
200 sacks and 200 frezadas pastores.

Of this list of goods, Mission San Diego furnished her share of one-fourth, except the cartridge pouches and the sides of leather.[22]

In 1824, an order called for the following items for the presidio from each of the four missions in this military district:

338 fanegas (563 bushels) of wheat,
91 fanegas (152 bushels) of beans.
208 arrobas (5,200 lbs.) of manteca,[23]
$250 worth of soap,
75 fanegas (125 bushels) of corn, for the Indian prisoners at the presidio.[24]

In that year, the mission had harvested 2,700 fanegas (4,500 bushels) of wheat, but only 320 fanegas (533 bushels) of corn and 55 fanegas (92 bushels) of beans. The number of Indian neophytes, on the other hand, was 1,829, the largest in the history of the mission.

As we have seen, the demands on the missions were manifold and disagreeable. At times, a request would come, however, that was apt to elicit a smile from the troubled missionaries. A case in point is the following. In September, 1819, Governor Solá wrote to the Fathers at Mission San Diego:

His Excellency, Viceroy Count de Venadito, desires to have a dozen bottles of wine from your mission, in order to send them to the king our august monarch Don Fernando VII. Let each bottle be labeled thus "Wine of New California from Mission San Diego." The box should be labeled, "Al Rey, Nuestro Señor por conducto del

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22 *Archb. Arch.*, no. 2,539. See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 124, 129.

23 i. e. tallow drippings.

24 *Informe*, December 31, 1824. *Archb. Arch.*, no. 2,538.

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Exmo. Virrey Conde del Venadito''; and if you know that it could arrive sound, then a barrel of the same wine for said viceroy. I shall esteem it highly.[25]

The solicitous official very likely was quite well acquainted with the quality of San Diego wine.

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[25] *Cal. Arch.*, Prov. Rec. xi, pp. 467, 498, 536, blotter.

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CHAPTER X.

Cash Demands on the Mission.—Mission not Wealthy.—Governor Echeandía.—Heroism of the Missionaries.—Glad to Leave.—Their Zeal.—FF. Payeras and Sanchez in Search of New Mission Sites.—Route.—Corn Planted at Santa Isabél.—Report on Location and State of Mission.—Mexican Independence.—Rev. Vicente Fernández—Arrival of Governor Echeandía.—Fathers Decline Taking New Oath of Allegiance.—Reasons.—Greed Awakened.—Missions Needed by the Government.—Land Grants to Neophytes.—Schools.—Smythe's Calumny.—First Schools in America.—First Manual Training Schools in California.—Smythe's Ignorance.—Demands on the Mission Continue.—Neophyte Establishes Home for Himself.—Indians at Santa Isabél and Santa Monica Cared For.

FREQUENTLY, the governor himself called for clothing, grain, mules, laborers, and even for cash. How to furnish the money taxed the brain of the Superior of the Missions no less than the solicitude of the individual friar for his Indian charges, because the stupid Spanish regulations forbade trading with any foreign vessels. For instance, on December 16, 1820, Fr. Mariano Payeras, the Comisario Prefecto, was requested to supply $3,000. He replied that he had been able to collect only $2,000 from the missions. Again, in a circular, dated January 8, 1821, Fr. Payeras apportioned $3,000 demanded by Governor Solá. The share of the poorest mission, La Soledad, was $25. In June, 1821, Governor Solá called for $6,000 to relieve his troops. On March 13, 1823, Fr. Payeras directed the missions to supply whatever they could spare in order to meet the demand of Governor Luis Argüello, and to donate it outright. Accordingly, Mission San Diego offered 66 pairs of shoes, 66 *fresadas pastores,* 150 yards of white woolen cloth. On April 17, 1822, Fr. Payeras asked the missions to contribute toward a sum of $4,000 in order to pay the expenses of Governor Solá as representative to the Congress of Mexico.

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The amount assigned to Mission San Diego was $100 cash. In October, 1822, Fr. Payeras directed this same mission to contribute $150.[1]

In the previous year, 1821, Fr. Payeras wrote in his Memorial to the Viceroy, "Like all white people of the territory, the governor appears to believe that the wealth and money of the missions are without limit. I have heard as much during all the twenty-six years of my ministry. Yet most of them have no more than is necessary to meet current expenses."[2]

By February, 1824, the demands had become so frequent and unreasonable as to be beyond the possibility of execution. The Fathers of the four southern missions, therefore, refused to furnish any more supplies for the troops unless they were paid a just price. Till then and later, in exchange for their products the missions had received only drafts on Mexico which no one would accept and which were, therefore, worthless. As the Indians at various missions had assumed a threatening attitude, Governor Luis Argüello deemed it wise not to press the matter further than to warn the missionaries that there was danger of driving the troops to extremes. He forgot that just then in the north an object lesson presented itself which showed that it was more dangerous to drive the Indians to extremes. Had the tormented missionaries but given the signal, the oppressed neophytes would have driven the whole military force of California into the sea. For their own comfort and for the material well-being of their charges, the Fathers had taught the Indians only too well how to restrain themselves even under crying injustice.

In 1824, Fr. Payeras's successor likewise protested that it would be impossible to continue meeting such exorbitant demands as those of the past year; that the territorial authorities had a very erroneous idea of the wealth of the

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[1] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 117; 124-129.
[2] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 117.

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mission products; that most of the missions after paying the various taxes, duties, and forced loans, could barely clothe their neophytes in coarse and scanty material; that they could not collect the sums due to the missions; and that the settlers in the ranches and town had never done anything for the troops, although Los Angeles had 1,000 inhabitants with rich lands and many ranches. If the governor chose to use violent means, he, the Fr. Presidente, would not support him, and since the Fathers would not resist, there was grave reason to fear that they all would quit the country and the missions would be abandoned. If the Franciscans left the missions, however, the Indians would certainly not remain either, but would return to the sierras. As to the soldiers and their friends, they would not work the lands without the Indians. That seemed to have opened the eyes of the officials to the folly of their attitude toward the missionaries.[3]

Nevertheless, when poor Mission San Diego could not honor the demands for supplies as hastily as the new governor, José M. Echeandia, expected, he went so far as to direct Lieutenant José M. Ibarra to proceed to that mission with a force of soldiers and to bring away all the grain that the mules could carry.[4] To Echeandia, who appears to have belonged to the class of heartless and irreligious usurpers that tyrannized poor Mexico, it was apparently a matter of no concern whether or not the Indian converts themselves had anything to eat. The missionaries keenly felt the humiliating slavery to which they and their Indian charges were consigned. Yet, what would become of the neophytes, if they abandoned them? For the sake of the sheep, therefore, the shepherds remained, to console their flock where they could not relieve them. At all events, though they longed to abandon their ungrateful task, they would not

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[3] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 190-193.
[4] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, p. 235.

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depart on their own account. Such was their heroic resolution.

Meanwhile, however, laws had been passed in Mexico which aimed at the removal of the Franciscans and the substitution of secular priests. What the unselfish friars felt on hearing the news is well expressed in a letter of Fr. Sanchez of San Diego to Governor Solá. "I can not do less," he says, "than reply in the words of Psalm 121: 'My heart rejoiced exceedingly at the things that were said to me.' Yes, Sir, I assure Your Honor that those were the things that have driven me from that mission. Such have been my anguish and my disgust." [5]

The Bishop of Sonora, however, could not spare priests to replace the Fathers, and so the Franciscans with their faithful neophytes had to continue to supply the shiftless soldiers and to endeavor at the same time not only to keep the ranks of their mission family intact, but also to gather in the rest of the savages in the sierras; for neither opposition nor persecution, nor disappointment, nor even illness could smother the desire of these messengers of the Gospel to win all that were approachable. Despite the lack of material inducements, such as in the early days had attracted the natives, the Fathers succeeded in converting all the Indians occupying the sierras as far as the Colorado Desert. Sub-mission Santa Isabel enabled them to complete the conversion in that direction. It was well that the poverty of the missionaries no longer repelled the savages; for with the cutting loose of Mexico from Spain, and the accession to governmental control of men not in sympathy with a Religion that bridled the passions, notably greed and lust, there was no prospect of ever restoring life at the missions to the happy and flourishing state observed in the first decade of the nineteenth century. On February 24, 1821, Mexico had accomplished her independence from

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[5] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp.. 104-105. *Archb. Arch.,* no. 1,264.

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Spain, and with that event, thanks to the men who obtained control, Mexico bade farewell also to religious and political peace, a blessing she has not recovered to this day. The same was experienced in California till 1846, when the United States planted its flag on the coast. But we must not anticipate.

Notwithstanding the gloomy outlook for the maintenance of the missions, the zealous Fr. Comisario Prefecto of the Franciscans, Fr. Mariano Payeras, on the occasion of his official visit at Mission San Diego, in September, 1821, resolved to see the country to the east with a view to finding suitable sites for establishing another mission in the interior where pagans were said to be very numerous. On September 10, he set out from the mission, accompanied by Fr. José Sanchez, six guards, and two retired soldiers, José Manuel Silvas and Marcos Briones. Fr. Sanchez kept the diary of the expedition. It is interesting enough to be reproduced in substance so far as it concerns Mission San Diego.

"We set out," he writes, "on September 10, 1821, at 4 p.m., from Mission San Diego de Nípaguai, accompanied by six soldiers and two other men. Taking the course to the east for Santa Monica, a ranch of said mission, which is also called El Cajon and may be about five leagues distant, we arrived there at about 6:30 p.m., and passed the night there.

"September 11.—At about 3 a.m., we started for the north, and after about a league we moved through a cañada called Arrastradero, where we found a ranch called Michegua. Thence in zigzag course we came to Jueptahua with ten pagans. Leaving the plain called Pamo we came upon another ranchería called Canapui with six pagans. North by east through said valley, where the soil was not bad, we reached Egepam, which means foreign or strange. Here we breakfasted at 8 a.m.; we found only three savages. From here we traveled past a spring northward through the Cañada de Santa Isabél, which the Indians call

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Elcuanam and which we reached at 9 a.m., after having journeyed eleven leagues since leaving Santa Monica.

"September 12.—We spent the day visiting the sick and conversing with the pagans in order to persuade them to become Christians. This afternoon we returned to Santa Isabel Valley. It is small, but the soil is good; there is a spring in the center and oak trees abound. This was September 13.

"September 14.—At daybreak we began to climb the Sierra Madre. We passed the place of the *rodeo* for the cattle belonging to Mission San Diego, going two hours and a half, and arrived at a place whence we expected to view the Colorado, but could not owing to the dense vapors; however, we saw the Cañada de San Felipe. There is no timber; only in the lowlands we observed some poplars. This valley is three leagues long. Going to the right we came to the Cañada de San Dieguito, where we found fields belonging to Mission San Diego. We descended on the right and came to the ranchería of Guichapa. Farther down, about half a league, is the spring called Géenat, farther below called Tatayojai, where is the house known as Elcuanam. The people of the surrounding rancherías were already assembled there. The place is called by us Santa Isabel. We stopped after having wandered up and down for about six hours. The Christians alone number 450 souls. They call the vicinity Jamatai.

"September 15.—The other half of Santa Isabel Valley to the north, not far from the house mentioned, contains the ranchería of Mucucuiz. Farther north toward the east is another ranchería called Getonopai. A little farther on was Egenal. Going west we came to Teguilque and Gecuar. The people from all these rancherías came to Elcuanam before mentioned. It was said that in the assembly on that occasion the Christians with the pagans numbered about 650 souls.

"In the evening of this day, September 15, which was a Saturday, Fr. Comisario Mariano Payeras planted and

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blessed the Cross in front of the chapel door, assisted by myself, six soldiers, two retired soldiers, and about 600 Christian and pagan Indians, all of whom venerated the Cross by kissing it after their own manner. The Fr. Comisario Prefecto also baptized four children of pagan parents. We were then regaled with bread made of mesquite beans, the taste of which was not bad at all. The Indians are fond of it, anyway.

"September 16.—The day began with rain which continued all day. The Fr. Prefecto sang a High Mass during which he also preached. Afterwards we visited the sick.

"September 17.—The Fr. Prefecto started very early, going northward to Jacopin or Agua Caliente, about four leagues and a half distant from Santa Isabel or Elcuanam. I could not accompany him on account of illness. After about a league, he arrived at a spring near which the pagans have their cornfields and a ranchería called Ajata. The Fr. Prefecto named the place Las Llagas, on account of the feast of the day. It is on the road going down from the Valley of San José. There is good soil; also some timber of the alder and live oak kind. About a league and a half beyond, is another perennial spring called Buena Vista, near which are small marshes. About a league and a half to the east is Agua Caliente, called by the Indians Jacopin. The water there is in such a location that by collecting it reservoirs could with little labor be made useful for one purpose or other.

"The water is exceedingly warm; but there is cold water so near that a person can put one hand in cold water while the other is in the warm water. In parts, the soil is not bad. There is some alder timber. Toward the north there are live oaks, and in the same valley there are poplars and willows. To the north, the soil appears to be poor; but toward the south and west, it is excellent. This evening the Fr. Comisario returned to Santa Isabel at about 7 o'clock.

"September 18.—We passed the day partly in writing and partly in administering the Sacraments, besides giving instructions in catechism. A poor woman broke her arm.

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The Fr. Prefecto with his servant José reset and bandaged it; at the same time, he instructed her and because he thought her in danger of death on account of her advanced age, ninety years in my opinion, he baptized her. In the afternoon, came thirteen Indians, men and women, the youngest of whom exceeded sixty years of age. Fr. Payeras gave them catechetical instructions in preparation for their Baptism on the next day.

"September 19.—Very early, after he had celebrated holy Mass, the Fr. Prefecto again instructed the old men and women, and then baptized them, finishing the task by about 11 a.m. In the afternoon, we set out on the same road that leads to Jacopin. We again passed Las Llagas, which name the Fr. Prefecto had given to Ajata. Going north we came to a little elevation, having been on the road about two hours and a half before reaching the ranchería situated on said elevation. Continuing northwest we discovered some springs. The locality appeared suitable for a mission, wherefore the Fr. Prefecto ordered a Cross to be set up east of the elevation. He then blessed it with my assistance and in presence of those accompaning us. There are many springs which may suffice to irrigate the beautiful table land which they dominate. The Indians of this region possess an abundance of seeds which they obtain after their own manner. The valley may be more than three leagues in length and in parts more than two leagues in width. From Santa Isabel to this locality, or Guadalupe, for so the Fr. Prefecto christened the place, the distance may be two leagues and a half. All the Indians here wanted a mission. To the east of Santa Isabel, which I forgot to note at the time, at a distance of six or seven leagues there are ten rancherías comprising perhaps 450 souls."

From Guadalupe the two Fathers and their guards went toward the west for twelve leagues, and then reached San Antonio de Pala, in the evening of the same September 20. The Fr. Comisario with Fr. Sanchez extended their journey of exploration as far as Mission San Gabriel. Here on

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October 1, 1821, Fr. Sanchez closed his diary and returned to San Diego.[6]

On various dates from March to May, 1822, all the Franciscans took the oath of independence from Spain and of allegiance to the government established by General Iturbide in Mexico. At San Diego, the Fathers Fernando Martin and José Sanchez swore allegiance on Saturday, April 20.[7] The Supreme Government somewhat distrusted the attitude of California. Accordingly, it sent a commissioner in the person of the Rev. Agustin Fernández, whose task it was to secure the loyalty of the territory.[8] He did not visit San Diego, nor did any of his acts concern this mission in particular, save that, like all others, it had to transmit a report regarding its condition and the extent of the land it occupied or cultivated. Such a report was drawn up, and it follows here entire because of its highly important contents.

"*State of the Mission of San Diego in Upper California* in compliance with the points which the Rev. Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente, Commissioned by the Supreme Council of the Regency to the Two Californias, requested of the prefecture of this Territory.

"*Location, Geographical.*—The Mission of San Diego, which is situated in 32 degrees north latitude, lies south of the capital of this territory (the presidio of Monterey) at a distance of 170 leagues. To the east, at a distance of 9 leagues is the Sierra Madre, on the summit of which, at a distance of 17 leagues, is an establishment founded with the permission of both authorities under the title of Santa Isabel and comprising a chapel, a cemetery, and various habitations and granaries. At this establishment are 450 adults and children, instructed in the Christian Faith, baptized, domesticated as far as possible, and trained somewhat in agriculture and other suitable crafts. Within a

[6] Fr. Sanchez, *Diario de la Caminata,* in Santa Barbara Mission Archives. See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 142-145.

[7] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Sacramento,* xviii, 24-25.

[8] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 150-158, for details.

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circumference of 12 leagues in every direction from said establishment are about 2,000 gentiles, old and young, but quiet and peaceful, a fact I myself have witnessed. On the various occasions that I was among them, I have not observed the least excitement. Furthermore, since the said establishment was placed there, no hostile incursions have been experienced.

"To the south of this Mission, at a distance of 16 leagues, is the Mission of San Miguel Arcangel of Lower California. In this district there are some pagan rancherías but of little importance as to numbers.

"To the northwest of this Mission, at a distance of two leagues lies the imperial[9] presidio under the same title as this Mission. It has a good harbor, and at a distance of three leagues and a half is a sufficiently strong fortification.

"To the north of this Mission, at a distance of 14 leagues, is located Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, on the road to which there are no pagans.

"*The Cavalry Troop.*—The Mission has from the company of the neighboring presidio a corporal and five soldiers, which number the commander of the said presidio increases or decreases according to occurrences and military operations.

"*Inhabitants.*—Of these military men two are married and their families live here. There are two married mayordomos with their families, who are employed in overseeing the agriculture and have charge of the farm implements. Native inhabitants of this Mission, including those of the establishment at Santa Isabel, comprise 1,686 souls. Of these eighteen are runaways, whose whereabouts are not known.

"*Live Stock.*—There are 340 tamed horses; seven droves of mares with *burromeso*, which with their young number 540. There are 200 tamed and untamed mules, 8,600 cattle, and 19,000 sheep. These four classes of animals are very well adapted and necessary for this country.

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[9] The use of this term was owing to the situation in Mexico, Iturbide having been made emperor.

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"*Extent of Lands.*—The land of this mission toward the south extends a distance of 13 leagues to the place called El Rosario, where the line is that divides Upper and Lower California. These lands are occupied by a ranch for the cattle belonging to the imperial presidio nearby, for which reason the property of these natives does not extend in that direction.

"To the east, this mission possesses the establishment situated in the Sierra Madre and called Santa Isabel, at a distance of 17 leagues. To the north, this mission possesses the land for a distance of 7 leagues to the place called Cañada de San Bernardo. To the northwest and west, this mission possesses no land whatsoever, because the property of the imperial presidio and of its settlers with the horses of the troops occupy a considerable part of the lands in that direction.

"The soil is very sterile, and most of it is covered with (*chamizales*) brushwood. Only when it rains copiously is it pretty well covered with pasturage; and then an abundance of grain is harvested, that is to say, barley and wheat, which suffices for the sustenance of the new citizens, with the rations of meat distributed to them every fifteen days, that is to say, when they are living in community; for otherwise they do not enjoy this subsistence in sterile years when nothing is harvested. Whatever places within the jurisdiction of this mission are serviceable, are cultivated in the years when there is sufficient water, for there is no way of irrigating.

"*Silver and Gold Mines.*—None have been discovered.

"*Placers.*—None have been discovered on this coast, nor have tortoise shells been found. There are many savory fishes, and some otter and sea wolves.

"*Harbors.*—Besides the port of the imperial presidio, there is at a distance of three leagues toward the north an *enseñada* or cove called San Buenaventura, where one may disembark with sufficient ease, without being seen by the

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presidio and its fortification.—San Diego, November 19, 1822. Fr. Fernando Martin." [10]

As was already stated, Mexico under the leadership of General Agustin Iturbide had declared itself independent of Spain. But the new order of things lasted only a short time. Iturbide was crowned emperor on July 21, 1822, and on March 19, 1823, he abdicated. Commissioner Fernández visited San Diego on his way back to Mexico, and stayed during the last week of November. He probably went out to the mission, but there is no record of it. Solá, the last Spanish governor, resigned and he was elected to represent California in the Mexican Congress. He departed with Fernández. Captain Luis Argüello was elected temporary governor, but toward the end of October, 1825, at San Diego, he surrendered the office to José M. Echeandia, the first Mexican governor. Echeandia made San Diego his capital. With him came Agustin V. Zamorano, as secretary, Romualdo Pacheco, Captain Pablo de Portilla, Lieutenant Juan M. Ibarra, Juan Rocha, José M. Herrera, and a detachment of soldiers.[11]

On April 28, 1826, Fr. Antonio Peyri of San Luis Rey Mission, Fr. José Sanchez of San Gabriel, Fr. José Maria Zalvidea of San Juan Capistrano, and Fr. Fernando Martin of San Diego Mission, answered the call of the new governor and assembled at the latter's quarters in San Diego. Zamorano and the alcalde of Los Angeles also were present. The matter discussed was the new constitution fabricated in Mexico on October 4, 1824. The Fathers, who had already sworn allegiance to the first independent government of Mexico, declined to take an absolute oath on another constitution that warred on religious Orders and was not the expression of the will of the people of Mexico, but, like all constitutions concocted there ever since, the product of a handful of ambitious and selfish politicians.

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10 *Informe, Sta. Barb. Arch.*

11 For details on the subject see *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, chap. 13.

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Nevertheless, remembering the words of St. Paul that one must be subject to the authorities that are without questioning as to how they obtained their offices, the Fathers offered to swear obedience to the constitution in everything that was compatible with their ministry and religious profession. But this did not satisfy Echeandia and he declared that every missionary in California would have to state his views in writing.

On receiving notice from Echeandia to this effect, Fr. Fernando Martin, under date of May 23, 1826, wrote:

> I, Fr. Fernando Martin, missionary of the Mission of San Diego, certify that I have received the notice of the comandante of this presidio of San Diego in which he orders that I should solemnize the occasion with a High Mass, *Te Deum,* and a discourse in keeping with the Oath, which the troops are to take on the Federal Constitution of the United States of Mexico. . . .
>
> The reasons I had for excusing myself from solemnizing said oath as ordered, without failing in the respect, submission, and obedience I owe the Mexican Government, were the following: It has come to my knowledge that my prelate mentioned before, has refused the oath on the Constitution for the reason set forth above, and also because I knew that in the places where the oath should have been solemnized, just as at this presidio, it was not solemnized.
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> However, having treated about the matter with the Comandante-General Echeandía, we agreed that he would send me an official notice and that I in writing give the reasons for excusing myself from solemnizing said oath and these are as I have exposed in the preceding paragraph. . . . Fr. Fernando Martin.

Under date of June 7, 1826, Fr. Oliva wrote that his conscience did not allow him to take the oath, and that he would gladly suffer banishment therefor.[12]

At the same time, already advised by the Mother College, the Fathers offered to surrender the management of the mission temporalities at once; for *"some prominent Californians,"* Bancroft confesses, *"at this time had already had their eyes on the mission lands."*[13] "Moreover," Smythe puts in, "Mexico had friends to reward as well as enemies to

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[12] *Archb. Arch.*, nos. 1,823, 1,824.

[13] Bancroft, vol. iii, pp. 101-102. See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 238-239.

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punish. Some of the men who had fought its battles, and who would be needed to fight its battles again, looked with longing eyes on the rich dominions of the missions and began to dream of founding great families and great estates. It was a very convenient thing to be able to pay your debts with other people's property."[14] Smythe here, in a nutshell, states the real motive for the opposition to the missions and missionaries and for the destruction of the neophytes' happy homes, reared by them under the guidance of the Franciscans with ineffable labor and patience.

Echeandia was not yet ready to go to the length proposed by the Fathers; for, who would furnish supplies to the indolent military if the missionaries took it into their heads to depart? Nor did the governor think it safe to set the Indians free at once and let them provide for themselves. Moreover, they were wanted to provide the soldiers with the necessaries of life. The Franciscans advised Echeandia to make experiments with only a few neophytes. After a long discussion, it was decided to set such Indians free in the jurisdiction of Santa Barbara and San Diego as appeared capable and desired it. On July 25, 1826, Echeandia issued a circular emancipating from mission tutelage all such Indians as might be found qualified to become Mexican citizens. "The natural result of these movements in behalf of the Indians," says Hittell, "was to make them restive and more or less disorderly." "As might be expected," Beechey declares, "the few neophytes who accepted the proposition soon fell into excesses, gambled away all their property and were compelled to beg or to steal."[15] Echeandia proposed nothing new. Long before he came to California, Indians had been given permission to take up land and live by themselves or to affiliate with other missions. For instance, the first land grant on a small scale was made at the instance of Fr. Serra to a couple in 1773. The following is

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[14] Smythe, *History of San Diego*, vol. pp. 71-72.

[15] For details and references see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii.

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a similar case. "Jacobo Niacopal and his wife Christiana Samanar, neophytes, ask the governor for license to sever their connection with Mission San Diego and to live outside." The governor referred them to the Fathers, who both recommended that the pair be permitted to make their living by their own labors. This is dated March 3, 1829 and

EMANCIPATED INDIANS AND DWELLING

signed by Fathers Martin and Oliva.[16] Indeed, the Fathers were willing to set the Indians free wherever feasible. What they objected to was that this be done promiscuously. Most of the neophytes were not as yet fit for such a life without supervision and guidance.

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[16] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 2,053. See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 239-240.

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Echeandia also wanted schools conducted in each mission and wrote to that effect to the Fr. Comisario Prefecto on July 3, 1827. In reply, six days later, Fr. Sarría wrote:

You deem it well to order me to arrange that in all and at each of the missions of this territory primary schools be established and that, of course, each mission give the teacher a sufficient salary, who shall take care to give suitable instruction and to teach the best morality. Although I desire to be a punctual observer of your orders, yet from personal knowledge of the missions in their present circumstances, I do not consider it at all feasible to carry out exactly what is commanded, at least not in every particular. However, I shall assist, as is just, that in the manner possible schools may be established. I shall notify all and every one of the missions by means of a circular of this same date.[17]

Similarly, the missionaries, thirty years before the arrival of Echeandia, had expressed their willingness to assist in establishing schools, and privately they taught some of the more talented and industrious boys to read so that they might be able to serve at the altar or sing in the choir. But, then as now, to open schools, before professional teachers and the means to support them could be procured, was out of the question. The governor realizing the difficulties directed that where no teachers could be secured those of the neophytes who could read and write should act as teachers, one for every ten pupils.[18]

In the face of these facts, Smythe writes:

The friars were not merely indifferent to the education of the Indians—they were inflexibly opposed to it. Not even favorite neophytes were permitted to learn to read, and their servants learned only such things as would aid them in providing for their masters' comfort.[19]

Echeandia had collected a list of all the Indians who could read and write. Of course, they were comparatively few; but still there were such; otherwise he could not have ordered those same Indians to act as teachers, wherever

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[17] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 1,941. See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, p. 242.

[18] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 241-242.

[19] *History of San Diego*, vol. i, p. 179.

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no professional teachers could be had. If Smythe and the whole tribe of ignorant and malevolent mission critics had read the history of education from its earliest days, they would have known that the monks were at all times the very ones who fostered a knowledge of reading and writing and of very much more. As early as 1525 and later, the very Franciscan friars, whom in the above paragraph Smythe calumniates, gathered the boys of Mexico at the schools conducted in connection with their monasteries and taught them reading, writing, and singing. Often as many as 600 and 800 boys received an elementary education under the same roof from the Franciscan friars. In 1531, the first nuns, Poor Clares, arrived in Mexico City and taught girls and young ladies. The young Indian ladies would frequently become Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis and did for the girls what the Franciscan Fathers and Brothers did for the boys. The so-called Anglo-Saxons, who always appear to imagine that they possess a mortgage on book-learning and on higher education, would do well to study history; it would make them less conceited. The Spaniards in America were far ahead, indeed, almost a century, of the English in establishing universities.[20]

What was possible in Mexico, however, was not possible in California. To reach the incomparably lower classes of savages on the coast it was necessary to provide them with food, clothing, and shelter, and to teach them industry, all of which the Indians in Mexico had provided for themselves before Cortés arrived. Hence it was that the Franciscans, on reaching California, segregated the convert Indians from their wild, unspeakably vile, and unwilling savage tribesmen and introduced the great manual training schools where agriculture, mechanical arts, and stock-raising were taught on a grand scale. It was the education most suitable for the Indian, since it prepared him for the life he would have to lead in the event of his being put in charge of his own

[20] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. i, p. 13. The University of Lima, Peru, was established in 1558; that of Harvard, Mass., in 1636.

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property. This was the training which the United States found so suitable that it adopted the system in its own reservation schools. If, generally speaking, the education at that time went no further, the fault lay solely with the dullness of the Indians and the lack of means. Smythe himself [21] notes the difficulties encountered by Echeandia in his efforts to open schools for the children of the settlers, who, as has already been pointed out, cared naught for any kind of education. "He engaged the services of two teachers for primary schools before he came to California; but when they reached Acapulco they could proceed no farther because the province was unable to pay their passage to Monterey. Shortly after Echeandia's arrival, the assembly, at the governor's suggestion, requested the (Mexican) government to send a few masters for primary schools, at his own cost; but this request was refused." All the governors experienced similar obstacles, but on the part of their own people and not on the part of the friars, despite Smythe: The missionaries would have welcomed schools if regular teachers of moral conduct had been available. They could have been of the greatest assistance to the missionaries; but such assistance had been expected from the guards, too. What resulted from the presence of immoral soldiers, however, is sufficiently known and need not be entered on here. Better the children without teachers than with teachers of such a character.

Nevertheless, in the face of these historical facts, Smythe gives vent to his unthinking innate prejudice in this wise:

> The story of the struggle for education is a pathetic page in early California history. The governors were in favor of education, as a rule, but they received no support whatever from the missionaries, and almost none from the other inhabitants. It was, indeed, the deliberate policy of Spain to keep its colonial subjects in ignorance, on the mistaken theory that this would prevent the growth of discontent. . . . The missionaries were at all times firmly opposed to popular education, which now seems to us a singular thing when it is remembered that they were men of culture; but this was entirely

[21] *History of San Diego*, vol. ii, p. 569.

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consistent with the policy of the Church and of Spain, at the time. . . . The wily missionaries professed obedience, but soon found an excuse for non-compliance in a mythical lack of funds. . . . Solá was earnest in his desire to aid the cause of education. . . . The missionaries were hostile.[22]

Every statement made in this quotation, save the two that "the governors were in favor of education," and that "the missionaries were men of culture," is absolutely false and unworthy of a man of education. It shows not only the inexcusable ignorance of the author, but his blind prejudice, as well. In all fairness, since he insists that it is the business of the Church to teach the three R's, Smythe on his part should state in detail what non-Catholic denominations, especially his own, have done and are doing in the line of primary education; and then he should put the result side by side with the activity of the Catholic Church in that respect. What, right here in San Diego, is his denomination, or all non-Catholic denominations together, doing in that line independent of State support? If the Catholic Church is under obligation to teach its children reading and writing and arithmetic, why should not other churches be held to perform the same duty regarding their children? Which organization, therefore, manifests more solicitude on that subject? There is something said somewhere about living in glass houses and throwing stones. Let there be an end to the nonsensical charge that the Catholic Church is or ever was opposed to education, and that she wilfully keeps her members ignorant. History demonstrates that the reverse is true. Only the wilfully blind persist in repeating the calumny.

The change from Spanish to Mexican rule, and the appointment of a Mexican as governor, did not make a change for the better in the conditions of the soldiers, much less in the life of the missions. No salaries were received for the guards nor for the missionaries any stipends from the

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[22] *History of San Diego*, vol. ii, pp. 568-569. See Appendix D.

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Pious Fund.[23] The soldiers and their families continued destitute. The consequence was that every soldier and every official expected to be supported by the mission Indians under the supervision of the poor missionaries. The commander of the presidio admitted that the missions contributed all they could; but for the years 1822-1825 not even the usual drafts on Mexico had been forthcoming. On October 6, 1826, therefore, Fr. Fernando Martin wrote to Governor Echeandia:

> I see myself obliged to have recourse to Your Honor so that you may direct the habilitados (storekeepers) to deliver the drafts for what this Mission of San Diego has furnished to the troops of this comandancia with so much hardship and toil of the poor neophytes. It does not seem to me to be in accordance with reason that, because of the sloth or negligence of said storekeepers, what is in justice due to this mission should be lost. I would not have taken the pen in my hand to write to Your Honor to compel them, if they had paid any attention to me the many times that I have appealed to them to transmit the drafts to me. . . .[24]

The drafts produced no money, but they were evidence of what the mission had done for the soldiers, who everlastingly clamored for more and more, without even a word of thanks.

Under date of April 30, 1826, FF. Martin and Oliva wrote to the Comandante General Echeandia, informing him that:

> Citizen Gil, native of Mission San Diego and carpenter by trade, desires to separate himself from said Mission where he is now, in order to go where he can exercise his trade with adequate profit. In complying with the petition presented by Gil Ricla on April 4, 1826, we have to say that he is a Christian from his infancy, having been born at the Mission of parents who are Christians of long standing, that he is of regular conduct, married to Pia who was baptized at Mission San Luis Rey. He is 29 years of age and has three children. His trade is that of carpenter by means of which he maintains himself in some comfort. Therefore he has our leave to separate himself from the Mission.

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[23] For details on the Pious Fund see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. i, last chapter, and vols. ii-iv, with help of Index.

[24] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 1,836.

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The Governor being at San Diego at the time, granted the permission on the same day, April 30, through Agustin Zamorano.[25]

Another letter of Fr. Martin to Echeandia, alluding to the situation at Santa Isabél, is of interest for that mission station. He writes:

I have to say that we shall most gladly comply with your disposition that we should order, at Santa Isabél as well as at Santa Monica, food to be given to all the gentile Indians who go to live at Santa Isabél and Santa Monica in order to work equally with the Christians of both places. This morning, Fr. Antonio Menéndez notified me that you wish me to go out and assist the culprit who is to be executed. I should readily go if my companion were here; but as he is absent, I can not leave the Mission alone. For this reason Fr. Antonio has offered to exercise the ministry which I ought to perform at the port early to-morrow morning. San Diego Mission, April 13, 1826.—Fr. Fernando Martin.[26]

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[25] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 1,817.
[26] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 1,818.

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CHAPTER XI.

Change of Commander at Presidio.—Visit of Duhaut-Cilly.—Robinson's Visit.—James Pattie's Visit and False Statements.—Extent of Mission Lands.—Live Stock.—Fr. Menendez, O. P., Chaplain at Presidio.—Echeandía's High-handed Dealing.—Celebration on Election of Pope Leo XII.—Indian Land Coveted.—Missionaries Resist Strenuously.—Mission Ranchos.—Change in Government.—Victoria Arrives.—Pio Pico and Clique.—Revolt Against Governor Victoria. —He Resigns.—Embarks at San Diego.—New Governor.—Echeandía's Trickery.—FF. Martin and Oliva to Echeandía.—Mission Reports Cease.—Confiscation Decreed.—Figueroa at San Diego.—Neophytes Decline Freedom.—San Dieguito.—Fr. Durán at the Mission.—Warns Figueroa.—Mission Confiscated.—Inventories.

IN 1827, Captain José Maria Estudillo succeeded Captain Francisco Maria Ruiz as commander of the presidio. Ruiz was then seventy-three years of age and had never been married. He died in 1839. On April 8, 1830, Captain Estudillo departed this life. He was buried the next day in the presidio chapel. Lieutenant Santiago Argüello was placed in command and named captain in 1831.

Between 1825 and 1830, retired soldiers and officers generally moved down from the hill. Bancroft thinks that there were probably no houses on the beach in 1821 and few in 1825.

The horses and cattle of the military grazed in a district called La Purisima or Rancho del Rey, later known as Rancho Nacional.[1]

The French navigator, A. Duhaut-Cilly, who visited the port of San Diego in April, 1827, describes it at great length, declaring that it is the best harbor in whole California. His opinion of the town and presidio is quite the reverse, however. "A sad place is the presidio of San Diego," he writes, "the saddest of all that we have visited in California with the exception of that of San Pedro, which is entirely a

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[1] Bancroft, vol. ii, pp. 538-547.

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desert. It is built on the slope of an arid hill and has no regular form. It is a shapeless mass of houses, all the more gloomy on account of the dark color of the bricks of which they are rudely constructed. Nevertheless, it was at that time the seat of the government. Below the presidio on a sandy plain are seen scattered thirty or forty houses of poor appearance and a few gardens badly cultivated. Yet it is the seat of the governor."

Regarding the mission, the Frenchman has this to say: "Mission San Diego is situated about two leagues from the presidio. I went there on the morning of our arrival. . . At the time, it was in charge of Fathers Vicente (Oliva) and Fernando (Martin). It is not very rich, although it numbers a thousand Indians, possesses 12,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep, 2,000 pigs, and a proportionate number of horses and mules.[2] At a distance the place is by no means ugly in appearance, but this diminishes the nearer one approaches, because the buildings, though well arranged, are poorly kept and in part are in ruins. A musty smell penetrates even the quarters of the Fathers. Fr. Vicente and Fr. Fernando are so accustomed to the disagreeable odors that they make nothing of them. Toward us, however, they showed themselves as kind as they were dirty."

It must be remembered that, if the neophytes were to produce anything, the poor Fathers had to labor with them at every kind of work. Like boys, the Indians needed the master around; else little work would be done. Even at the present day, those who hire Indians know this very well. The missionaries were probably in a hurry, too. It was the month of April when the Frenchman made his unannounced visit, a time when planting had to be done or the fields had to be irrigated. Surely, the Fathers had ample excuse for not wearing their Sunday clothes. The

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[2] The highest number of live stock ever owned by Mission San Diego was as follows: Cattle, 9,245 head, in 1822; Sheep, 19,654, in 1825; Horses, 1,250, in 1830; Mules, 295, in 1822; Pigs, 120, in 1815.

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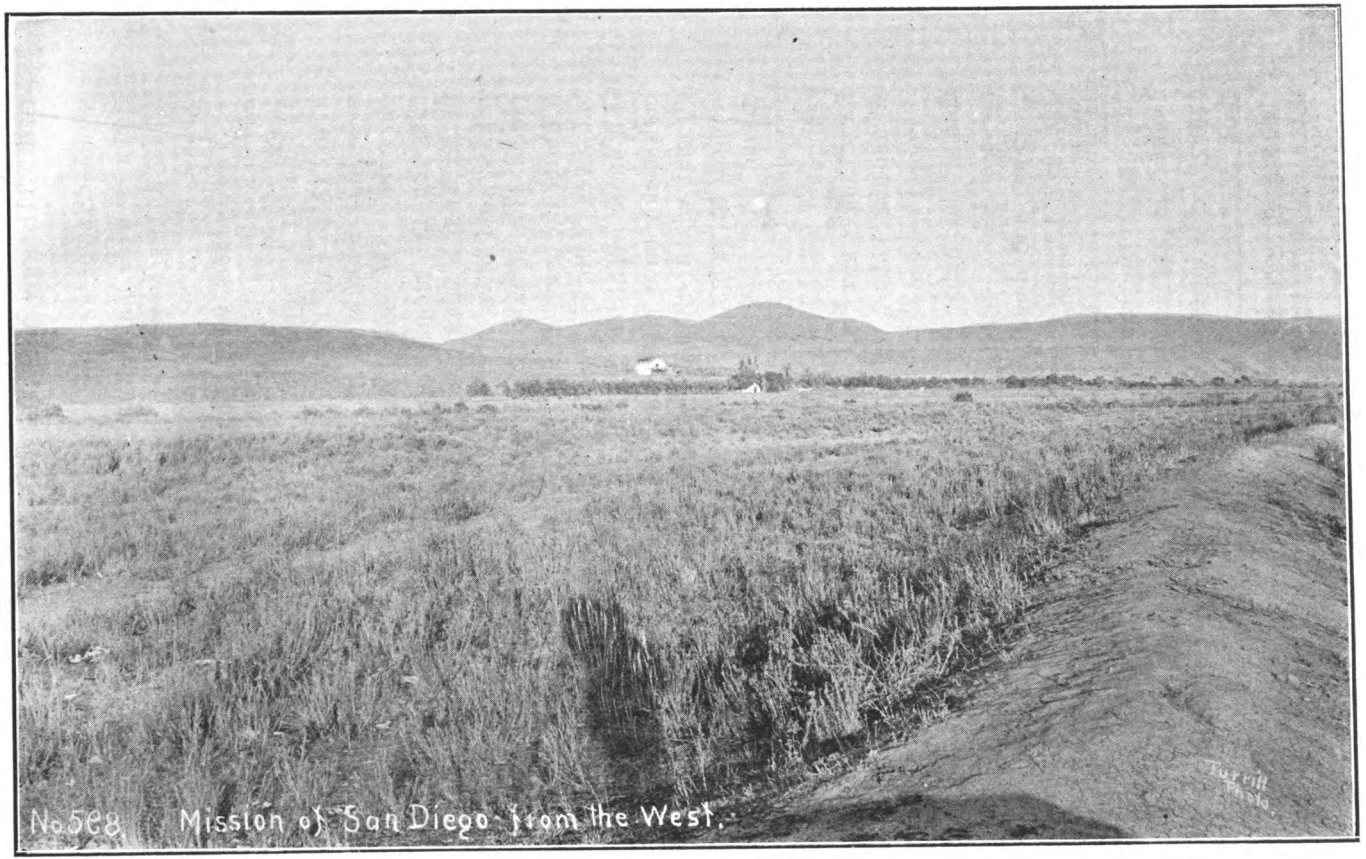

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incident shows any way that, unlike the soldiers, the missionaries were not ashamed to do manual labor, much less afraid to lose esteem and respect of the neophytes, in consequence.

"The Fathers were about to sit down to dinner, and so they invited us to dine with them. What they offered us was not at all appetizing, and so when Fr. Vicente in vain urged us to eat, Fr. Fernando exclaimed, 'This is certainly something remarkable, that neither of you wants to eat at our table. Of course, the air of the Mission is not favorable for the stomach of foreigners!' Having said this, he prepared a salad of cold meat mixed with onions, Indian pepper, and olive oil from the mission. This oil tasted so rancid that it rasped the throat. Afterwards, not having a knife, the good Father divided the meat with his fingers and even with his teeth, which operation made the meat still more repulsive. Then he put the whole mass with both hands on a plate from which a piece had been broken off and which still had remains of a preceding meal. We wanted to laugh, but the stomach, served with such a solemn filth, objected. Meanwhile, my traveling companion, a young Californian, not at all disgusted with such a repugnant banquet, was laying in as if he were to be paid for cleaning away all that was placed before him. 'That is an appetite, indeed,' said Fr. Fernando." [3]

Poor Frenchman! He was not cut out to be a missionary among the Indians where there are no French cooks to prepare dainty meals. For this only Indian youths were available, and doubtless the Fathers themselves, at first any way, would loathe the stuff that the simplicity and ignorance of their dusky cooks would set before them. Moreover, the Frenchman should have announced himself and not dropped in just as the helpless friars were sitting down to dinner. We imagine that they chuckled within themselves

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[3] "Eso, si, es gana."—Duhaut-Cilly, *Voyage Around the World*, Italian edition, Turin, 1841, vol. ii, pp. 19-21.

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over the discomfiture of the Frenchman, who manifested so little consideration and good breeding as to drop in upon them for a splendid dinner when they had their busiest day. Potluck, really. It will be remembered, too, that at this stage all the missions were in sore distress, because they had first to provide without compensation for the whole military of California. The missionaries and their neophytes could sate their hunger on what was left and from broken plates, too. Besides, since the Californian who accompanied the navigator ate with such relish it would seem that the fastidious Frenchman exaggerated somewhat.

Contrast his description with Alfred Robinson's account of a visit which he made at the same mission but two years later, 1829. He writes: "The author and his special friend . . . reached the Mission, where they met the two Father Missionaries at the door, they having just returned from a walk around the premises. The visitors were welcomed, and alighted to have half an hour's chat before dinner—that is, before twelve o'clock, their usual hour for that meal; and accordingly sat down on one of the rude benches so generally found at all these establishments. The author's friend, being an old acquaintance of the Fathers, had considerable to say to them. At length the church bells announced the hour of noon, when both the holy friars turned around, and knelt upon the bench on which they had been sitting, with faces turned to the building, while three or four young pages (Indian servants) knelt by their side, on the pavement, when the elder of the two friars commenced the *Angelus Domini,* in a very devout manner, and led the prayer, which was responded to by the brother friar and the pages, the bells of the church chiming an accompaniment. . . Dinner was now announced, when they entered through the large reception-room into the dining-room, where the table was spread, at which they sat down, and had an entertainment of the usual *guisados,* their *fritos* and *azados, frijoles,* and the universal *tortilla de maiz,* and plenty of good native wine, with the usual dessert of fruits peculiar to the climate; after which the old friars retired to

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take their *siesta,* and the author and his friend hurried away on their return to the town, where they arrived after an hour's ride."

An amusing incident which Robinson relates in connection with this visit must not be omitted, for it has its lesson. "During the prayer," he says, "a large fly alighted on the wall just in front of the Father, who, apparently without any attention to the prayer, was watching the course of the fly and following it with the large round head of his cane, as it moved about, sometimes up, sometimes down, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, and ready to annihilate it, when, at the closing of the prayer, and pronouncing the word Amen! Jesus! he brought his cane down on the poor fly and crushed it, and then turned around to renew the conversation, as though nothing had happened. This incident was amusing to the beholder, but serves to show the simplicity of the Reverend Father, who was probably not aware of having committed an impropriety." Robinson may have exaggerated somewhat, as is his wont; however, he noticed that the Father yielded to a distraction. But what about Robinson himself? He certainly was not absorbed in the prayer; otherwise he would not have observed the impropriety. So by criticising the friar, he gives himself away, a not uncommon occurrence. *Sapienti sat!* [4]

Sylvester Pattie, a Kentuckian, with his son James and six other Easteners, all trappers, arrived at San Diego in March, 1828. Echeandia had suspicions and placed them in jail. Here the elder Pattie took sick and died. The others were thereupon set free. Young Pattie wrote a book on his experiences, in which he rails against Echeandia, the Spaniards, and the Catholics. However, Smythe says: "Considerable doubt has been thrown upon Pattie's veracity, and the present writer cannot vouch for it all. Indeed, it seems highly probable that the party was not at all

[4] Alfred Robinson, *Life in California,* pp. 262-265.

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badly treated at San Diego. . . . It seems that young Pattie or, more probably, the man who wrote his 'Narrative,' had an unreasoning hatred of Catholics and Spaniards, and the whole book is colored by it. For instance, he entirely suppressed the fact which is well authenticated that the elder Pattie became a Catholic before his death and was buried in consecrated ground on the Presidio Hill."[5] In his Personal Narrative, Pattie writes, "In the course of the night he (Echeandia) received a letter containing information of the death of one of the priests, and that a great number were ill of the small pox. . . On the 18th of January, 1829, I began to vaccinate; and by the 16th of February had vaccinated all the people belonging to the fort, and the Indian inhabitants of the mission of San Diego, three miles north of the former place."[6]

In 1827, the Fathers were again requested to state the extent of the Mission lands. On December 18, 1827, they complied as follows:

"*Lands.*—Going down the cañada toward the port of San Diego, the territory of this Mission reaches to the Cañada de Osuna. On the land intervening wheat and barley are planted; there is no irrigation. The distance is one and a half league. Adjoining it are the lands of the settlers of said port, and the pastures for the horses and mules of the Nation (Government).

"Going toward the cattle ranch of the Government, the territory of this Mission extends as far as the Ranchería of San Jorge; its extent is two leagues and a half. On the land intervening, the sheep are pastured during the winter season. On the borders are the gentiles of said Ranchería (of San Jorge).

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[5] Smythe, *History of San Diego*, pp. 137-138.

[6] No priest died at San Diego Mission at this time, 1828; nor was there any extraordinary number of deaths, nor from small pox. Moreover, the mission was neither three miles nor north from the presidio. It is strange, too, that the Fathers nowhere make mention of Pattie or of vaccination.

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"On the way to Santa Monica or El Cajón are the territories called San Jacomé de la Marcha and San Capistrano de Matamó. In these districts pasture the horses and mules and the sheep of this Mission. They extend about two leagues and a half. Adjoining them are the pagans of said rancherías.

"In the territory of El Cajón or Santa Monica, wheat, barley, corn, and beans are raised, the greater part depending on rains, and the rest on irrigation with the water obtained from the dam. This water comes from a grove called El Chocolate, which lies below the sierra of Cuyamat. This whole tract lies five leagues from the Mission. Contiguous to it are the rancherías of said gentiles.

"From Santa Monica or El Cajón to the new foundation of Santa Isabel is a distance of nine leagues. In this territory wheat, barley, corn, and beans are planted, the greater part depending on the rains and the rest on irrigation.

"From the Valle de San José to the laguna called El Agua Caliente is a stretch of two leagues, on which the cattle of the Mission are pastured and also the sheep. From the laguna farther on and the environs, approach the territories belonging to the Mission of San Luis Rey.

"From said territories to the Rancho de San Bernardo is seven leagues. On this stretch is a territory called Pamó, where there is a grove with a good deal of water, but not enough for raising grain. It is sufficient only for pasturing the sheep, horses and mules.

"From the Rancho de San Bernardo moving toward the territory of Mission San Luis Rey is a distance of two leagues. Here the cattle of this Mission of San Diego find pasture. Proceeding toward San Dieguito, the territory of this Mission reaches as far as La Joya, a distance of three leagues. On this stretch of land pasture the cattle of this Mission.

"From the Rancho de San Bernardo, coming toward this Mission, lies the Ranchería with the permanent running water, which is called Paguay, reaching to where we pasture the cattle of this Mission. From the Ranchería de Paguay

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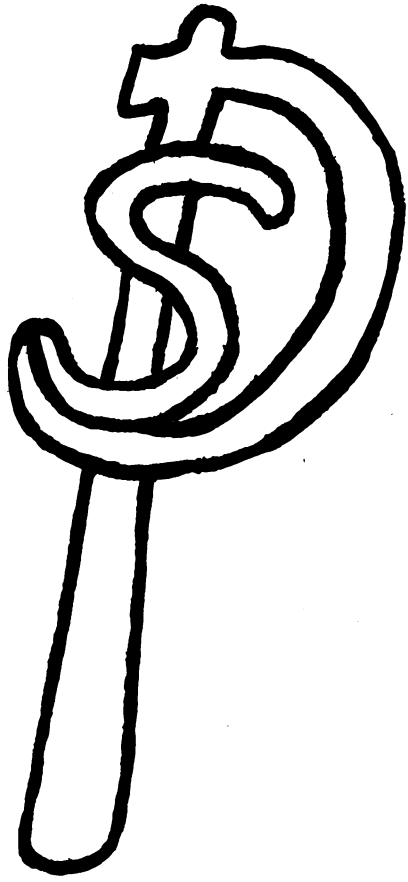
to this Mission of San Diego is a large and mountainous jungle, of no use for anything.

"The afore-mentioned territories are those occupied and possessed by this Mission of San Diego.



SAN DIEGO MISSION CATTLE BRAND

"*Cattle.*—The cattle which this Mission of San Diego possesses are in two ranchos and they number, old and young, 9,120 head.

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"*Sheep.*—Including the lambs, this Mission has 16,284 head.

"*Horses.*—This Mission has fourteen droves including jackasses and three burros with their young—825 head, and tame horses—162 head.

"*Mules.*—There are 82 tame mules and 54 wild mules, in all 136.

"*Goats.*—There are, including young, 234 head.

"*Swine.*—There are, including young, 72 pigs.

"*Nota.*—In Article First of the Bando it is said that in the jurisdictions of Santa Barbara and San Diego the time for branding the cattle will be the months of March, April, and May. I have to say that in the Rancho de San Bernardo the branding can be done in those months; but in the Rancho of Valle de San José it will not be practicable to brand until the months of August and September, because the weather is very cold and the cattle may not be ready until summer. Therefore I supplicate that permission be granted to do the branding in this Rancho during the two months of August and September.

"The stamp and the shape of the iron are enclosed.

"In witness whereof I sign at Mission San Diego on the eighteenth of December, 1827.—Fr. Fernando Martin, Fr. Vicente Pasqual Oliva." [7]

In 1825, after long waiting, the missionaries, who had their hands full looking after the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Indians, were at last relieved from attendance at the presidio. In that year, Fr. Antonio Menéndez, O. P., arrived at the port and he was persuaded to accept the chaplaincy for the soldiers and their families. In his report to the Minister of War, on the Spanish born male inhabitants of California, Echeandia, on December 6, 1828, writes regarding Fr. Menéndez:

Fr. Antonio Menéndez, a Dominican friar from Lower California, where he completed twelve years of missionary labors, was given a pass by his prelate, the Fr. Presidente, to return to his convent in

[7] *California Archives, St. Pap. Mis.* vi, pp. 178-180.

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Mexico; but since there was need of a chaplain at this presidio of San Diego, his services were engaged for a salary which the company granted him as its chaplain *pro tempore*. He is forty-three years old and conducts himself in an orderly way. He swore to the independence while still a missionary, and since then he performed the functions of his ministry in conformity with the federal system. He has been found to favor it and he has taken the oath on it in legal form. In the same year, on October 14, Echeandía notified Fr. Menéndez "that the President of the Republic through the Minister of War tells you that he will receive with pleasure your services as chaplain of San Diego."[8]

A primary school was conducted at the presidio during the last half of the decade, according to Bancroft,[9] and Fr. Menéndez for a time acted as teacher, receiving from fifteen to twenty dollars a month from the town funds. In 1829, the school had eighteen pupils.

It was most disagreeable for the missionaries when Echeandia informed them "that Ensign José Fernández, who had just disembarked, was directed to take up his quarters in the mission with the thirty artillerymen who accompanied him."[10] Yet, this same Echeandia had himself heralded as the liberator of the Indians from the bonds of missionary rule. Without asking whether there was room or whether it would be agreeable, he issued his outrageous order. We have no details of the affair, however. In the report for that year, the Fathers say nothing of it. Perhaps, after all, the unwelcome soldiers were induced to stay away. Surely, of all places an Indian mission was the last in which soldiers should be quartered. At any rate, Echeandia made an exhibition of the little interest he had in the welfare of the Indians, despite his protestations to the contrary.

Late in 1829, the news of the election of Pope Pius VIII reached San Diego. As had been done in 1800 by order of Bishop Rouset and again for Pope Leo XII, a High Mass with the Te Deum was sung in all the missions; the illumina-

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[8] *Cal. Arch., Dep. Rec.*, vi, pp. 235-241; 491-492.
[9] *History of California*, vol. ii, p. 548.
[10] *Cal. Arch., Dep. Rec.*, vi, pp. 505-506.

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tions lasted three nights, besides the ringing of bells. Fr. Tomás Mansilla, O. P., of Lower California, writes to Echeandia that the same celebrations were observed at the Port of San Diego.[11]

One of the ranchos belonging at this time to Mission San Diego was coveted. The result was a correspondence which shows how strenuously the Franciscans fought for the rights of their Indian neophytes. The following letter on the subject needs no comment:

In your reply of January 20, 1829, Fr. Fernando Martin writes to Echeandía, you say that proof and evidence should be placed before Your government under what title, possession, or formal authorization this Mission considers itself the lawful owner of the land of Jamúl; that, furthermore, the Mission doubtless prejudiced its rights to Jamúl since for the last fifteen years it has not made use of said land.

No one doubts that to the Indians belong the lands and the site where they and their fathers and sons and grandfathers had been born; for nature has given it to them, and they must keep their lands and property, unless it be shown that they had sold or given said lands to other people or under some title had transferred them to other persons.

These Indians or a part of them, natives of Jamúl, are living at the Mission, and they have a share in the property of the Mission, and under that title and proprietorship the Mission has possession. In the *Libro* 4, *Ley* 9, *de la Recopilacion de Indias* is a law which reads: "It is commanded that the converted Indians shall not be deprived of their lands of which they held possession before; and that, in this no innovation be made and the lands be preserved for them, as they had held them before, so that they may cultivate them and use them for their own profit."

By what has been said and by virtue of this law is proved the right which this Mission has of holding possession of the Jamúl site; moreover, it has had possession of it for a very great many years without opposition from any one and with the knowledge of the government.

Regarding the second point, I have to say that the information which they gave Your Honor to the effect that for the last fifteen years the Mission has not occupied the site of Jamúl, is false and not true. In 1823, I myself ordered the mules to be placed at Jamúl, and there they remained a long time until an Indian named Agustin began to steal the animals, whereupon I had them removed

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[11] *Archb. Arch.*, nos. 2,072, 2,075.

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to the sierra; thereafter, because of the damage done by said Agustin, no live stock was put at Jamúl. Who doubts that it is the Mission which suffers if that site is given away? In this year of drought, when there is no pasturage for the sheep, where shall they be placed? Which localities has the Mission on which to maintain 17,000 sheep during the five months of cold weather? Certain places are set aside on which to keep the live stock of the Mission, in such seasons of drought, and Jamúl is one of them. There is another, which I do not name. Doubtless, in times when water is plentiful, the animals maintain themselves in any place; but when there is scarcity of pasturage, wide stretches of land are needed. In conclusion, I transmit the law cited above. Mission San Diego. January 22, 1829.—Fr. Fernando Martin.[12]

Let Smythe observe well that Echeandia, unfriendly as he was to the missionaries, does not call on the Franciscan Fathers to prove *their* right to the land. The reason is simple enough. The Fathers had no land they called their own, although as individuals they might have claimed tracts of land with much more propriety than any of the men who did secure grants; for they labored without compensation in behalf of its real owners—the Indians. But they had taken the vow of poverty and could, therefore, claim nothing for themselves or their Order, nor did they ever lay claim to as much as a square foot. As guardians of the Indians and of their property, however, it was their duty to resist any encroachments on the lands of the Indians.

Accordingly we find that in 1823 the Fathers protested against the granting of the Peñasquitos Rancho to Captain Francisco Maria Ruiz.[13] Indeed, so jealously did the missionaries watch over the rights of their Indian wards that they would even rise against the missionaries of another mission, when they felt that any damage might result to their neophytes. Thus, for instance, a dispute arose about the boundary line between the missions of San Luis Rey and San Diego. Governor Echeandia settled the conten-

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[12] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 2,049.

[13] Bancroft, vol. ii, pp. 551-552.

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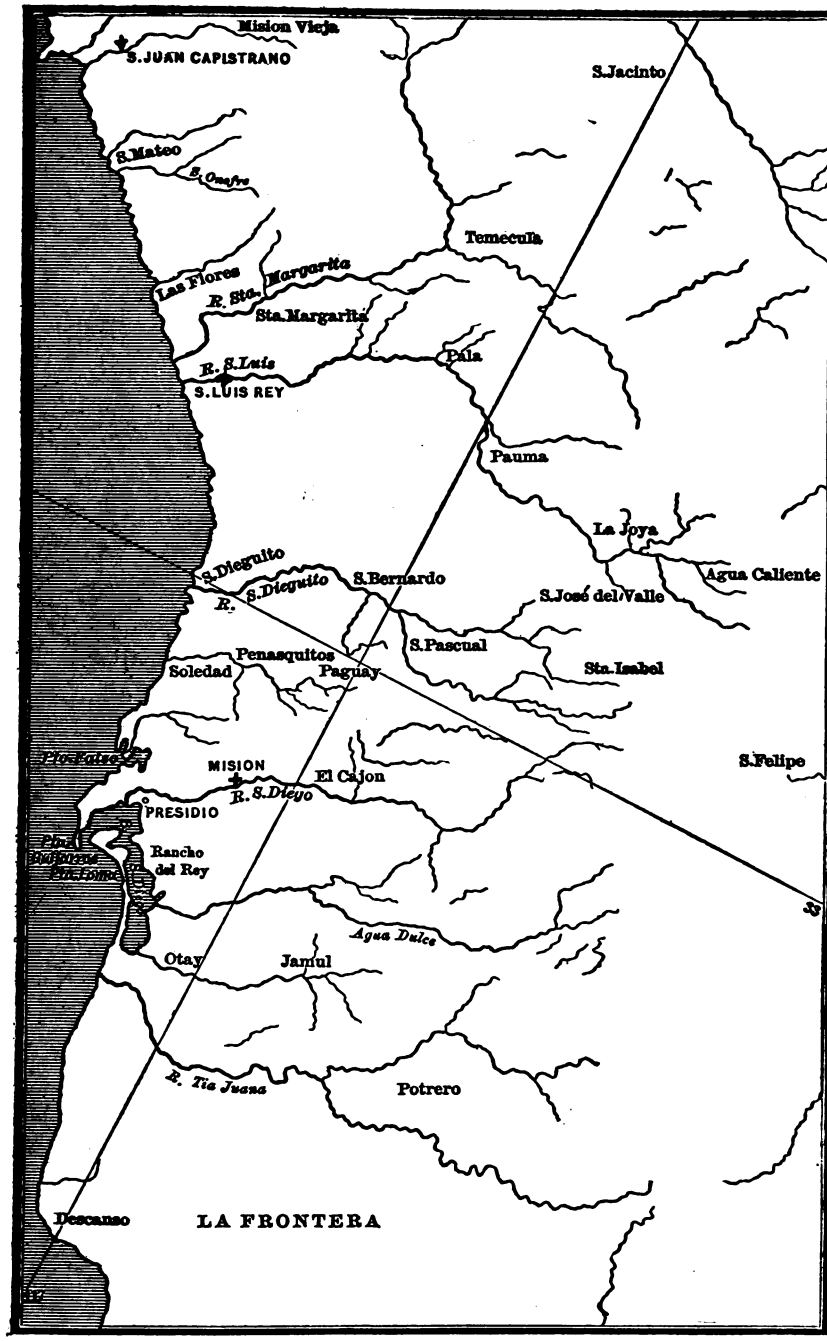

THE MISSIONARY DISTRICT OF SAN DIEGO AND SAN LUIS REY

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tion by dividing the Cañada de Buenavista half and half between the two missions.[14]

Comandante Santiago Argüello, on December 31, 1830, reported that in the district subject to his jurisdiction, there were to be found 7,851 inhabitants, of whom 7,294 were Indians. These lived at the Presidio of San Diego and in the territories of the four missions of San Diego, San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel (Los Angeles not included), and in the following ranchos and localities: La Purisima or Rancho de la Nacion; San Antonio, Abád; San Isídro; El Rosário de Barracas; Santa Margarita de los Peñasquitos; Santa Monica or El Cajón; Santa Isabél; San Bernardo; San Antonio de Pala; Temécula; Santa Margarita; San Pedro or Las Flores; Las Pulgas; San Jacinto; San Juan; Agua Caliente; Santa Ana; San Joaquin; Trabuco; San Mateo; La Puente; Santa Ana (Rancho); Gurupe; San Bernardino; San Timoteo; and San Gorgónio.

"In this year," Argüello further reports, "an epidemic was experienced; commonly, the congregated Indians suffered from venereal diseases, which produces terrible havoc among them. This is the cause of their decrease aggravated by the little or no care they take in dieting. This is also experienced among the *gente de razon* or those who are not Indians."[15]

Important changes took place in both the ecclesiastical and the political government of California during the latter part of third decade of the nineteenth century. Fr. José Sanchez, who had been stationed at San Diego from 1805 to 1819, was appointed Presidente or Superior of the Missionaries by the Mother College, on June 9, 1827. At the time the zealous friar was in charge of Mission San Gabriel.

Echeandía's rule had proved unsatisfactory to the Supreme Government, and certainly disastrous to the Missions,

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[14] Echeandía to Fathers of Missions San Diego and San Luis Rey, February 25, and December 4, 1829. *Cal. Arch., Dep. Rec.*, vii, 90,258. Bancroft Collection.

[15] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions*, iv, 37-38. Bancroft Collection.

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with which he was not in sympathy. A successor was appointed in the person of Manuel Victoria, who arrived overland from Loreto at San Diego in November or early in December, 1830. He expected Echeandia to surrender the office at this place; but that wily official had gone to Monterey with a big scheme against the Missions. This he launched at Monterey on January 6, 1831, when the new governor was already on his way to Santa Barbara. The amazed Victoria took the oath of office at Monterey and then at once nullified his predecessor's confiscation plan. By this act, however, he incurred the hatred of a set of unscrupulous young Californians, whom the Mexican law against Spanish-born officials had brought to the surface. They assembled at San Diego and from there fulminated a proclamation of rebellion against Victoria, ostensibly on the ground that the new governor would not convoke the legislature, for which in reality he had already asked the advice of the Supreme Government, but in truth because Victoria had frustrated their sordid plans against the Missions, the lands and live stock of which they coveted. The proclamation was signed on November 29, 1831, by Pio Pico, Juan Bandini, and José Antonio Carrillo. The garrison was then induced to join the rebels and the officers did so by signing a supplementary note on December 1, 1831, excusing their traitorous action. These officials were José M. Echeandia; Pablo de la Portilla, said to have been intimidated to turn against his chief, Santiago Argüello; José M. Ramirez; Ignácio del Valle; Juan José Rocha; and Andres Cervantes. With a handful of men Victoria came down to quell the revolt. A short battle ensued near Cahuenga in which the governor was seriously wounded and his aid killed. He was taken by his men to San Gabriel and there he resigned his office. When he recovered sufficiently, he went to San Diego, boarded the *Pocahontas* on January 17, 1832, and sailed for Mexico.[16]

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[16] For details see *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 249-250; 320; 346-365.

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On January 10, 1832, Echeandia assembled the legislature at Los Angeles. Pio Pico was elected temporary governor and Echeandia military commander of California. But the latter was not satisfied with the arrangement and refused to acknowledge Pio Pico as civil governor, on the ground that the military and civil command must be united in one person. After twenty days, Pico laid no more claim to the office. But now Captain Augustin V. Zamorano of Monterey, as ranking officer, claimed the office of governor. To avoid bloodshed, Echeandia was allowed to rule from San Gabriel southward, while Zamorano governed in the north, until a new governor should come from Mexico. Echeandia did rule the south. "Retreating to San Juan Capistrano," says Tuthill,[17] "Echeandia gathered about him many Indians whom his promises enticed from their work at the missions, and inaugurated a series of robberies and murders. Other Indians at distant points, especially in the south, revolted. The Indian was free, and he felt that his freedom entitled him to do any violence that might be convenient."

On May 9, 1832, a new governor was appointed by the Mexican Government in the person of José Figueroa, then governor of Sonora. Although the news arrived in July, Echeandia audaciously played the same trick he had perpetrated once before. On November 18, 1832, he issued a Reglamento concerning the missions, "as if the events of the past months had been a mere temporary interruption of his plan,"[18] though it was intended to apply only to the four southern missions, because he had no power over the others. The document was addressed to the missionaries of San Diego, San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel. In reply, Fathers Martin and Oliva of Mission San Diego wrote on November 24 as follows:

After reading attentively the Bando and Reglamento, which under date of the eighteenth of this month you placed in our hands, and

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[17] *California*, p. 134.

[18] Bancroft, vol. iii, pp. 184-185; 314-315.

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after reflecting what we should do in such a delicate case, we have decided to retain a copy and to forward the original to our Fr. Presidente, without whose knowledge or permission we can not meddle with political matters, for we are mere subordinates of our prelates through whose hands orders of this kind must come. We shall not oppose nor do we oppose whatever Your Honor may determine, for we continue here at this Mission only for the spiritual welfare of these people. Since May 20 of this year, the neophytes of this Mission have already managed its temporalities without any meddling in their affairs on our part. If at any time anything has been said about the damage which the little remaining property is suffering, it was done because the waste in the management is notorious. Only the wine cellar has not been turned over to the Indians, because this has been regarded as not conducive to their corporal and spiritual welfare.

The Fr. Presidente mentioned in the letter was Fr. Narciso Duran, who held the office for the term immediately preceding that of Fr. Sanchez. He had been reappointed by the College on May 26, 1830.[19]

With the year 1832, the regular annual reports on the state of the mission ceased. They had usually been signed by the missionaries in charge on the thirty-first day of December. During the year 1834, the temporal management was taken out of the hands of the Fathers in consequence of the Decree of Secularization, or rather confiscation, which Governor Figueroa issued at the behest of the Californians on August 9 and November 4, 1834. The last report signed by Fr. Fernando Martin on December 31, 1832, gave the number of Baptisms, administered since the founding of the mission in 1769, as 6,522, including those of white settlers and others. During the same time, 1,803 marriages had been blessed, while the deaths amounted to 4,332. The neophyte population embraced 259 married couples, 255 widowers, 105 widows, 228 single men and boys over nine years of age, 75 single women and girls, 144 male children, and 130 female children, in all 1,455 souls.

At the end of the same year, 1832, the mission possessed

[19] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 418-419; 207, 307.

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4,500 head of cattle, 13,250 sheep, 150 goats, 220 horses, and 80 mules. This shows that if the covetous Californians had let the missions alone, as they had to let alone the private property of individual white settlers, the Indians could have prospered indefinitely. Another story will have to be told of the mission property after it had been in the hands of hired administrators less than five years. In fact, decay set in at once.

The covetous mission enemies endeavored to create the impression, and many people still so believe, that the confiscation of the mission properties was executed in obedience to a decree enacted by the Mexican Congress on August 17, 1833. That decree, however, contemplated no such robberies as the Californians perpetrated. It went no further, indeed, than the law resolved upon by the Spanish Córtes on September 13, 1813, which provided that missionaries of religious Orders in charge of Indian missions anywhere should be replaced by priests directly subject to the bishop, and *that the property should be left in the hands of the Indians and be managed by themselves.* This latter feature of the law is what displeased the gang of Californians headed by Pio Pico, Juan Bandini, Juan B. Alvarado, José Castro, and Mariano Vallejo. Accordingly, they intimidated Governor José Figueroa and he issued the decree of August 9, 1834. This decree not only deprived the Franciscans of the management, in violation of the Mexican law, but likewise took the control from the Indians and put the missionaries, the property, and the Indians in charge of hirelings. The missionaries thereafter were at the mercy of those in charge. For details the reader must be referred to volumes three and four of the General History, since it would lead us too far to repeat them here. The Mexican Government was, therefore, innocent of the wholesale robbery, in fact, it flatly forbade the Californian governor, Pio Pico at the time, to make any change in the status of the missions; but this official paid no attention to the command and proceeded even to sell the remnant of the property to

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the highest bidder. We have anticipated; but it seemed better to make the matter clear right here.

Before issuing a decree concerning the missions, in fact, before the decree of the Mexican Congress of August 17, 1833, was published, Governor Figueroa came south to investigate the situation. He clearly saw what Fr. Presidente Duran had stated all along, that through no fault of the missionaries the neophytes were not as yet in a condition to govern themselves or their property, and that any wholesale change in the system would be ruinous. Accordingly, he so reported to the Mexican Government under date of July 20, 1833. He described the neophytes as children, with a natural predilection for the customs of their ancestors and for savage life without work. If freed at once, they would from proprietors soon become beggars, after having bartered their possessions for liquor and gewgaws. They would then return to the wilderness and join the wild Indians in stealing cattle and horses and selling them to New Mexicans and foreigners—all of which actually came to pass.

Nevertheless, Figueroa personally tried to induce the neophytes to avail themselves of the liberty held out to them. He assembled them and explained to them the advantages of freedom. Yet so attached were they to "degrading servitude" and to their "tyrannical missionary Fathers," that, as Argüello reported in September, of fifty-nine heads of Indian families at Mission San Diego only two wished for "emancipation," unless they could have the property to do with it as they pleased. Fourteen families, comprising thirty-three souls, at San Dieguito, desired emancipation, and the two from the mission wanted to join them, in order to form a pueblo. Argüello granted their petition and wrote that he was going to assign their lands. It is probable that the beginning of the settlement dates from that time, although Bancroft says there is no evidence that Argüello assigned the lands.

Before the governor set out on his tour, Fr. Presidente Duran himself made a visitation in the south. The Mission

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Registers of San Diego show that he was at the mission as late as July 12, 1833, on which day he viséd and signed the books. But he had arrived earlier; for, on July 3, 1833, he addressed a letter to Figueroa warning him to decide anything on the subject of Indian emancipation, as the consequences would be disastrous. Unfortunately the letter did not reach the governor until July 22, five days after he had published his "Prevenciones Provisionales" that provided for the gradual emancipation of the neophytes. This preliminary measure was followed by the infamous decree of August 9, 1834, ordering the confiscation of the missions, which measure was emphasized by the decree of November 4, 1834. From that date, the missions were doomed to destruction and the neophytes to extinction. The Fathers at San Diego, as at all the mission establishments, quietly submitted to the inevitable. They had done their best to ward it off. It was useless to resist brute force, while the Mexican Government was too far away to be appealed to and too helpless itself to furnish relief.[20]

Mission San Diego, on September 20, 1834, was transferred by inventory from Fr. Fernando Martin to Juan José Rocha, who had been appointed commissioner for that purpose. The inventory included everything, church goods and sacred vessels not excepted. The mission was well supplied in that line. Four chalices, for instance, were valued at $37, $25, $20.50, and $26, respectively. One of the missals must have been a precious specimen of art, since it was valued at $100.[21]

In April, 1835, Joaquin Ortega was placed in charge as administrator with a salary of $50 a month, to be paid, of course, from the income of the mission property, or from the proceeds of the farm products which the "emancipated" neophytes had to work as before. The missionaries had

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[20] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 472, 530; Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 628.

[21] Original of the Inventory in *Sta. Barb. Arch.* See Appendix E.

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managed the temporalities successfully without compensation for more than sixty years. We shall soon see with what success the hired managers controlled the destinies of the establishment, and with what satisfaction to the Indians. Another inventory was taken on May 5, 1835, and signed by Fr. Martin. In this document the church and its appurtenances were valued at $4,777.37. The debts of the mission amounted to $531, but the military commissariat owed the mission for supplies that amounted to $18,816.75.[22]

The little pueblo of San Dieguito was organized in November, 1835, with 34 families of only 113 souls from San Diego.[23]

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[22] Bancroft, vol. iii, pp. 353, 620.
[23] Bancroft, vol. iii, pp. 628.

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CHAPTER XII.

Death of Fr. Fernando Martin.—Salaries.—Fr. Oliva Defends Indian Rights.—Santa Isabél.—Administrator Rule.—Inspector Hartnell.—His Melancholy Report.—Indian Complaints.—Mission Poverty.—Robinson's Description.—Bishop Appointed.—He Arrives at San Diego.—He Confirms and Ordains.—Mofras's Description.—Yuma Indians.—Governor Manuel Micheltorena.—His Soldiers.—He Departs.—Mission Remnant Restored to Franciscans.—Result of Administrator Rule.—Pio Pico Governor.—Mission Sold.—Deed of Sale.—Smythe's Views.—Unscrupulous Pico.—Retribution.—What Smythe Has to Say.—Indian Raids.—Lamentations.—Items from Bancroft.

FR. Fernando Martin died at Mission San Diego on October 19, 1838, at the age of sixty-eight years. He had labored at this mission since July, 1812, had seen it prosper and the neophytes increase, happy and contented under the shadow of the Cross, and then had witnessed with bleeding heart how like sheep they were scattered by ravenous wolves. From December, 1831, till September, 1833, he had been alone, Fr. Oliva, his companion, having been transferred to Mission San Luis Rey. Fr. Buenaventura Fortuni assisted him till August, 1834, when Fr. Oliva returned and thenceforth served the Indians at San Diego till 1846.

Reporting under date of March 22, 1839, on the salaries granted the employees of the ex-Mission of San Diego, Joaquin J. Ortega declared that Fr. Fernando Martin, who officiated only as priest and pastor, from December 1, 1834, to October 19, 1838, the day of his death, had held a salary of $1,500 a year, which was assigned to him by the legislative assembly. The administrator, Joaquin Ortega, received $600 annually, and the mayordomo, one Rosalio Amadór, $18 a month and rations.[1]

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[1] *Mission Register* of San Diego; *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* ix, 301-303; v, 766.

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By way of explanation it must be noted here that, at the time of the confiscation, when the missionaries were deprived of the management of the mission as also of the means of subsistence, the legislature gave them the title of parish priests and assigned the above amount as salary. The Fathers rejected the title; but they had to accept the salary, in order to be able to pay for their board and other necessaries of life. But rarely, if ever, did any of the missionaries receive what was set apart for them on paper. Indeed, some starved, while others received what they needed under circumstances and restrictions that were humiliating, and from officials who would formerly have been glad to be employed as cowherds by those same Fathers.[2]

Though robbed of their authority as guardians of the neophytes and of the mission property, the Franciscans here as elsewhere steadfastly defended the rights of the neophytes to their lands. In consequence, they frequently incurred the animosity of the covetous Californians, who would make reprisals by slandering the fearless defenders of the helpless Indians. A case in point is the protest which Fr. Oliva, on May 7, 1839, addressed to the prefect of the south, Cosmé D. Peñas, residing at Los Angeles. It reads as follows:

The place Santa Isabél is not a *sítio báldio* or uncultivated land, as the solicitor says in his petition. It is a mission[3] with a church, a cemetery, and all the requisites of a civilized pueblo. If the Padre does not reside there, it is owing to the scarcity and lack of priests. The natives of said mission have their fields on which they cultivate wheat, barley, corn, beans, horse-beans, peas, and other seeds for their maintenance, besides keeping two vineyards and orchards and their horses. During summer, the lands will be occupied by their sheep. In a settlement of that nature no private party may enter. If the government should cede this land to the solicitor, whither would its inhabitants, 580 souls, be banished? The law says that the natives

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[2] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 100-102; 180.

[3] Not strictly speaking, but an assistencia or mission station, like San Antonio de Pala. It lacked only a resident priest to make it a mission in the strict sense of the word.

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and possessors of land are its legitimate owners. *Melior est conditio possidentis.* This is what I am bound to tell you on the subject. Mission San Diego, May 7, 1839. In the absence of the administrator —Fr. Vicente Pasqual Oliva.[4]

What effect this protest had is not known. But Administrator Ortega, writing to the governor under date of February 22, 1839, had to confess that "the landed property of Santa Isabél, of Santa Monica, and of the mission was in ruins, owing to the lack of people; for the emancipated Indians had fled, and there was no one to work. Only fifty persons, aged people, and women and children, remain. The others are in the valley of Santa Clara, Los Angeles, and in other ranchos."[5] Such was the result of administrator rule after only four years. It must not be inferred, however, that Ortega was dishonest. Still, the mayordomo would first take his salary from the income of the mission, and then there was little left for the neophytes. The mission simply could not afford to pay these salaries. Nevertheless, Ortega in 1839 reported that from the year 1835 there had been distributed to the neophytes the following effects: 439 undergarments, 202 skirts, 673 blankets, 116 fanegas of corn, 2,110 fanegas of wheat, 22 fanegas of beans, and 140 fanegas of barley.[6]

In January, 1839, Governor Alvarado appointed a very good inspector of the missions in the person of William Hartnell, who began his investigations at San Diego on May 22. He visited each establishment of the military district as far as San Fernando, where on May 24 he reported to the governor on what had thus far been done. Apparently without intending it, Hartnell shows incidentally that the missionaries of San Diego Mission, during the sixty-six years of their administration, had done herculean work to advance the temporalities of the neophytes without receiving in return anything more than food and clothing.

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[4] Hayes, *Mission Book*, I, no. 329. Bancroft Collection.

[5] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions*, ix, p. 37. Bancroft Collection.

[6] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions*, ix, p. 38. Bancroft Collection.

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At present, he averred, the salaries of unnecessary officials were consuming the proceeds, and the same missionaries could but look on helplessly. His report was a melancholy one. He declared that it was pitiable to see the destitution and misery and to hear the complaints of the 274 surviving Indians of the mission. Going into details on the state of the mission and ranchos, Hartnell says, "Mission San Diego has one vineyard with 5,000 vines and an orchard of 300 olive trees, and another vineyard of 3,600 vines and an orchard of 167 olive trees, besides various other fruit trees, notably pomegranates. It has also a field in good condition planted with a fanega (100 lbs.) of corn and a bushel of beans.

"The rancho of Santa Monica [7] has a vineyard with 8,000 vines two years old and well kept. In addition, it has a field planted with two and one-fourth fanegas of corn and two fanegas of beans.

"At La Compasion, the people were reduced to utter destitution. All the Indians presented themselves and supplicated the government to remove the administrator and to return them to the care of the Father, not because they had any complaint against Ortega, but because they realized that the mission was not in a condition to maintain them.

"At the pueblo of San Dieguito, the Indians presented themselves and complained about Juan Osuna, the alcalde of San Diego, because he had taken from them the land which they had enclosed for their grain, and that he had left them nothing more than salinous soil which did not produce enough for their maintenance. According to information which he had gathered, the said Indians are creditors to the land they claim, and it was hoped that the government would take the necessary steps in the matter." [8]

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[7] An undated scrap, signed by Fr. Fernando Martin, hence before October, 1838, gives the population of Santa Monica as 116 souls; of Santa Isabél as 344 souls; and of the mission proper as 320 souls. *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions*, vii, 15-33.

[8] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions*, xi, pp. 334-341; Hittell, vol. ii,

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On July 18, 1840, Hartnell states that various Indians of Santa Isabél protested against the grant of Santa Isabél by the governor to Joaquin Ortega.[9] Ortega had been administrator of Mission San Diego and thus he utilized his information of the best pieces of land; whether the Indians fared well or badly was no consideration. Which of the missionaries had ever benefited himself in this way? Why did not they apply for some land grant, and accumulate the riches which their enemies accused them of seeking? Because they first and always looked to the welfare of the Indians, the real owners of the lands now demanded by those who had done nothing to clear and improve them. Instead of providing heartlessly for themselves, as did the officials, the Fathers to the last unselfishly stood by their Indian converts. For instance, on May 7, 1841, Fr. Oliva protested to the prefect of the south against the excessive punishment meted out to the Indian Bonifacio, who was sentenced to one month and eighteen days of labor for having killed a bullock, although he paid as a compensation two dressed buckskins, six hens, one wooden bowl, and two horses; besides this, the fine in money was six dollars. But since he had no money, he did not pay the fine; and therefore he and two others received the additional month and eighteen days of labor.[10]

The mission itself had become so poor after six years of administrator rule that, as Fr. Oliva, on May 7, 1841, wrote to the secretary of the governor, there was not enough produce on hand to pay the annual salary of $140 to mayordomo Juan Osuna.[11]

The sad change that had come over San Diego during the past few years is aptly pictured by Alfred Robinson when he writes: "At this period of events, I embarked on

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p. 296; Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 620; *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 147-148.

[9] Hayes, *Mission Book,* i, no. 344. Bancroft Collection.

[10] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Angeles, Deer. and Juzg.* vi, p. 147.

[11] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* ix, pp. 99-100.

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board of the ship *Alert,* and again visited St. Diego. Here everything was prostrated—the Presidio ruined—the Mission depopulated—the town almost deserted, and its few inhabitants miserably poor. It had changed! From being once the life of, and most important place in California, it had now become the gloomiest and most desolate. With great difficulty I succeeded in procuring horses to return north, by land, and in doing which the person with whom I contracted compelled me to pay an enormous compensation. For a distance which I had often performed, during the flourishing state of the missionary establishments, at an expense of five or six dollars, I had now to pay forty! So much for secularization! so much for the Californian Government!" [12]

At the request of the Mexican Government, Pope Gregory XVI, on April 27, 1840, separated California from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Sonora and erected the Diocese of Both Californias. On the same day, the Pope appointed Fr. García Diego y Moreno, O. F. M., whom the President of Mexico had proposed, as first Bishop of the Californias and assigned to him San Diego as his residence. Fr. García Diego, who had arrived in California already in 1833 and resided at Santa Clara until the end of 1835, was consecrated at the Shrine of Guadalupe, in Mexico, on October 4, 1840. He arrived at San Diego with his retinue on the English brigantine *Rosalinda,* in the night of December 10, 1841. One of the Fathers on board went ashore that evening to advise the comandante and to prepare for the reception of the Bishop. On landing the next morning, the Bishop was solemnly received by Comandante Santiago Argüello and taken to the house of Juan Bandini, the only structure suitable in the unsightly place. The Bishop's attendants were Fr. Miguel Muro; Fr. Francisco Sánchez, whom Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson later immortalized in her *Ramona* as Fr. Salvierderra; Rev. Subdeacon Miguel Gómez;

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[12] *Life in California,* pp. 191-192.

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the students, Antonio Jiménez, José Maria Rosález, and Dorotéo Ambris; two youths, Agapito Cabrera and Gervásio Valadez by name; Alejo Salmon, a tailor; Leandro Martinez, a gardener, Doña Josefita Gómez y Diego, the Bishop's niece, and Doña Soledad, an elderly companion of Doña Josefita, who were both to conduct a school for girls.

On December 18, 1841, the Bishop administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to 125 persons in the presidio chapel. Pio Pico, Francisco M. Alvarado, José A. Estudillo, Manuel Verdugo, and others acted as sponsors for the men and boys. Next day, the Bishop conferred the Tonsure and Minor Orders on the three ecclesiastical students, Jiménez, Rosález, and Ambris. These were the first ordinations in California.

Nowhere is mention made of a visit to the mission which, however, the Bishop doubtless went to see with his attendants. Fr. Oliva was in charge, yet no notice from him is found in the mission records extant. Fr. Oliva must have paid his respects to the new head of the Church in California at the presidio or Old Town of San Diego; but his presence is not noted anywhere. In fact, information regarding San Diego is very meager on any subject in these last years of the mission period.

It required little time to convince the Bishop that San Diego with its less than 150 inhabitants, of whom ten were foreigners, was unfit for an episcopal see. Therefore, on the invitation of Santa Barbara, he resolved to transfer his residence to that pueblo and arrived there on the bark *Guipuzcoana* in the afternoon of January 11, 1842. He never again saw San Diego.[13]

By order of his government, M. Duflot de Mofras, attaché of the French legation to Mexico, visited California in 1841 and 1842. In January of the latter year, about two

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[13] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, Pref. and Juzgado,* iii, pp. 861-862; *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 189-230; *Libro de Confirmaciones.*

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weeks after the departure of Bishop García Diego, he arrived at San Diego and remained in the district perhaps a week or ten days. He was a fairly honest observer and described the situation as follows:

"This Mission of San Diego, which the Franciscans call the Mother-mission, is seventeen leagues north of Mission San Miguel, the last of the Lower California Missions, and fourteen leagues south of Mission San Luis Rey, which is the nearest. It is situated on the bank of the San Diego River, in a long and narrow valley between two parallel chains of hills. The buildings and the church are tumbling into ruins. In front of the buildings is a magnificent grove of olives. The grape vine thrives there very well and furnishes the most famous wines of California. The cotton raised is of a superior quality, but men are wanting to cultivate it. . . . In its halcyon days, this Mission numbered 2,500 Indians, 14,000 horned cattle, 1,500 horses, and 32,000 sheep.[14] The people here and the animals were distributed over the ranches of Santa Monica or the cañon of Santa Ysabél, San José, San Bernardo, San Dieguito, San Pasqual, San Alejo, and Soledad. To-day, these lands belong to the individuals who seized them. At the mission itself, there is no longer any live stock. Its inhabitants are a few Indians, a family of whites, and a Spanish priest, Rev. Vicente Oliva, a native of Aragon and already much advanced in years. He is unable to save from plunder the land of Santa Ysabél, which is situated ten leagues in the mountains, and where five hundred Indians are gathered under the supervision of their alcaldes and a mayordomo. These natives possess some teams of working oxen and obtain sufficient crops to support themselves. . . .

"The country extends as far as the western banks of the Colorado River, for about sixty leagues on a beeline. It is very picturesque and abounds in forests and pastures. The

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[14] Mofras is very generous. See the Tabular Report in chapter xv; also vol. iii of *Missions and Missionaries, Appendix F.*

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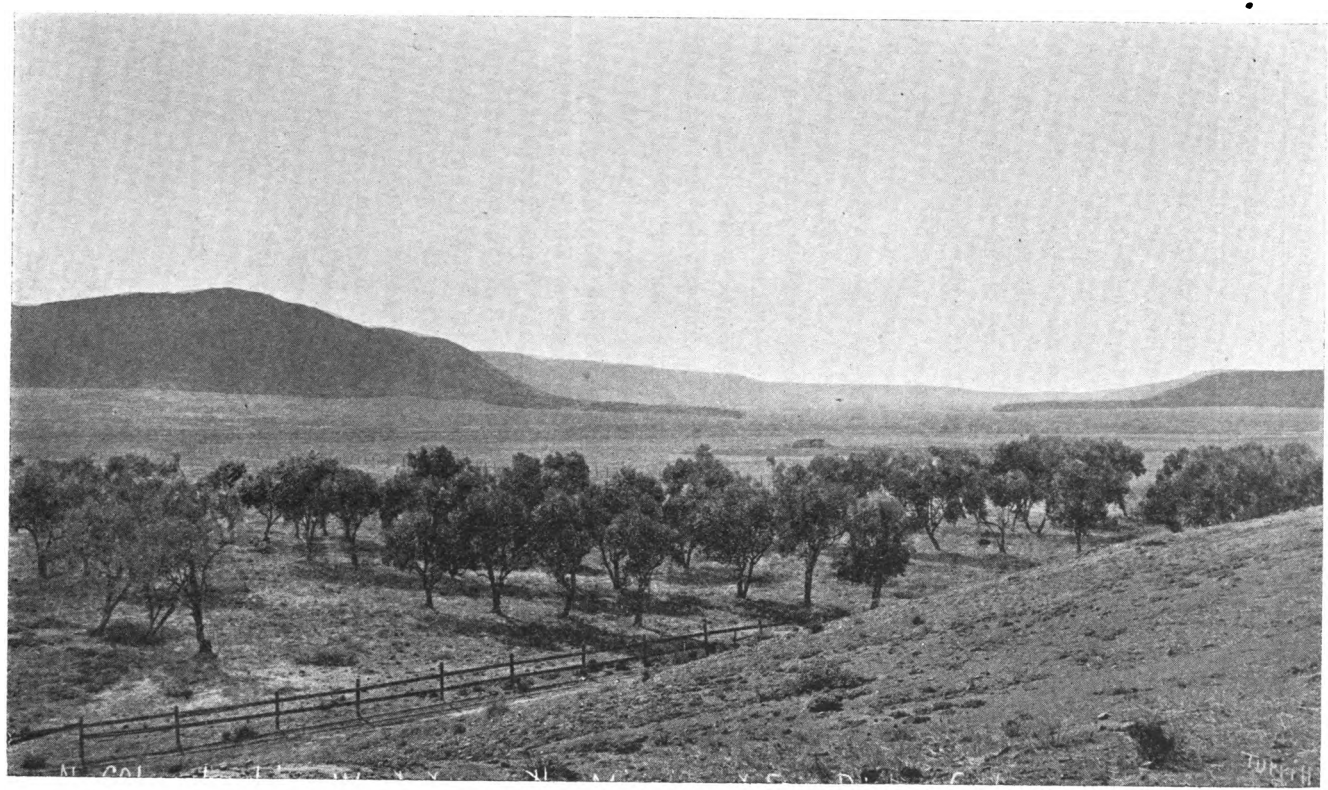

MISSION ORCHARD IN 1886. RIVER VALLEY DOWN TO THE PRESIDIO.

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Yuma Indians who inhabit it, sometimes overrun the territory occupied by the whites. In 1839, a horde of these Indians unexpectedly invaded the land of Jamul, eight leagues from San Diego and belonging to the family of Sergeant Pico. The savages massacred four whites and carried off as prisoners two young maidens whom they forced to submit to the vilest outrages; these unfortunates roused such jealousy in the Indian women that the latter, choosing a time when the men of the tribe were on a hunt, fastened the two prisoners to trees and stoned them to death.

"Who should not expect that on hearing of these terrible murders, the parents and the friends of the victims would join hands in wreaking signal vengeance? Still, nothing of the kind happened. The impotent authorities took no measures and the crime remained unpunished. Under the Spanish regime, at the first notice of the attack, the presidial force of San Diego, followed by the troops of the ranches, would have pursued the assassins and would have cruelly made them pay for their dastardly crime. At the time when communication existed between Sonora and California, one had to pass from the ruined Missions of San Pedro and of San Pablo on the Colorado River to Santa Ysabél, in order to reach San Diego. . . .

"The Indians of Santa Ysabél make good the deficiency in their crops by means of wild grass seeds, acorns, and the flesh of stags and roebucks which are very plentiful. At the Mission, they manufactured ordinary woolen and cotton fabrics; hemp also grew very well, but the sun was too hot for sugar cane. They worked also a tannery and made soap from the kelp obtained by boiling the sea weeds which they raked together on the shore of the bay. In the hands of another power, the port of San Diego would have acquired an importance very quickly; it would have joined the two Californias and Sonora, and could have become the center of a numerous population and of an extensive commerce." [15]

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[15] Mofras, *Exploration*, vol. i, pp. 334-339.

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An event of the highest importance was the arrival of General Manuel Micheltorena, the new governor appointed for California. He was the last one sent over from Mexico. His ship cast anchor in the harbor on August 25, 1842, seven months after the appearance of the first bishop. He was accompanied by a body of would-be soldiers whom Alfred Robinson describes in this fashion: "I saw them land, and to me they presented a state of wretchedness and misery unequaled. Not one individual among them possessed a jacket or pantaloons; but naked, and like savage Indians, they concealed their nudity with dirty miserable blankets. The females (many of the men were accompanied by their wives) were not much better off; for the scantiness of their mean apparel was too apparent for modest observers. They appeared like convicts; and, indeed, the greater portion of them had been charged with the crime of either murder or theft. These were the valiant followers of a heroic general, who had fought on the battlefield, where he had gained laurels for himself and country!" Micheltorena spent several weeks at San Diego, organizing and drilling his convict recruits with the result that Robinson wrote, "I had an opportunity of seeing them all afterwards at the Pueblo (Los Angeles), when on their route to Monterey. They mustered three hundred and fifty men, and their general had given them a neat uniform of white linen." [16]

Following the instructions of the Mexican Government, Micheltorena under date of March 29, 1843, issued from Los Angeles a decree restoring the missions or what remained of them to the management of the Franciscans. The new governor explained that the Indians were reluctant to remain under the secular commissioners, because "they prefer to return to the mountains and to die in the wilderness rather than to drag out a life of slavery full of privations and without any social pleasures." [17] That

[16] *Life in California*, pp. 212-213.

[17] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 272-273.

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was language which the half-infidel California youths would not brook. They conspired to drive Micheltorena out of the territory on the ground that he would not return his convict soldiers to Mexico, but in reality because he had taken the part of the Indian neophytes and had removed the parasites installed by Alvarado against the will of the Supreme Government. They had expelled Victoria for a similar reason; they had forced Chico and Gutiérrez to resign their office of governor; so the clique thought it would not be difficult to rid themselves of the honest and upright Micheltorena. They succeeded, too. Micheltorena resigned on February 22, 1845, and the following month he and the troopers, out of contempt called Cholos, sailed from Monterey on the *Don Quixote,* an American vessel.

When Fr. Oliva again resumed the management of the mission in obedience to Micheltorena's decree of March 29, 1843, he wrote to Fr. Durán that all that was left of the live stock were four cows, five calves, and one bull. In the year 1834, only nine years previously, the mission possessed 3,000 head of cattle, and 10,000 sheep! Fr. Durán, at the request of the Government of Mexico, sent a report dated February 29, 1844, concerning the Missions under his jurisdiction. With regard to San Diego, he writes laconically, "This mission has always been a poor one and hardly ever had enough for the support of its Indians; but to-day it has nothing. Fr. Vicente Oliva is in charge of a population that may number one hundred souls." [18]

Pio Pico again assumed control of the territorial government, after the departure of Micheltorena. As evidence of what was uppermost in his mind on March 18, 1845, only three weeks later, aided by Carlos A. Carrillo and Ignácio del Valle, two of his four colleagues in the legislature, he proposed not only another confiscation but the sale of the missions, although in somewhat disguised terms. Despite the emphatic protest of Fr. Narciso Durán, the Presi-

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[18] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 280; 387; 433-509.

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dente of the Missions, this was accomplished eventually by the decree of Pico's legislature of May 28, 1845, and lastly by his own decree issued on October 28, 1845.

In accordance with Pico's decree, the Mission, that is, what had not yet been given away of it, was illegally sold over the heads of the missionaries and of the Indian neophytes, its rightful owners, and deeded to Santiago Argüello *in consideration of past services to the territorial government!* According to Smythe, the deed of sale read as follows:

> Being previously authorized by the Departmental Assembly to alleviate the Missions, in order to pay their debts and to avoid their total ruin: and knowing that Don Santiago Argüello has rendered the government important services at all times, and has also given aid when asked, for the preservation of the legitimate government and the security of the Department, without having received any indemnification: and, whereas, this gentleman has, for his own personal benefit and that of his numerous family, asked to purchase the Mission of San Diego, with all the lands and property belonging to it, both in town and country, he paying fully and religiously the debts of said Mission, which may be established by the reports of the Committee of Missions, binding himself to provide for the support of the priests located at said Mission, and of Divine Worship. In view of all which I have made real sale and perpetual alienation[19] of it forever, to Don Santiago Argüello, according to, and in conformance with, what has been agreed upon, with all the appurtenances found and known at the time as belonging to it, whether consisting of lands, buildings, improved real estate, or cattle.[20]

"The reader," Smythe remarks,[21] "will not fail to note the pious terms in which the instrument was drawn. The object of the transfer was 'to alleviate' the Mission, and to avoid its 'total ruin.' The purchaser was required to provide for the support of the priests and to maintain divine worship. These diplomatic phrases deceived no one, and least of all the priests. The idea of a proprietary mission

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[19] Which he had formally been forbidden to do by the Mexican Government. See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 455; 501-509; 756, 758; 768-771.

[20] *History of San Diego*, p. 73.

[21] Ibidem.

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dependent for its support upon the bounty of an individual, must have been repugnant to their souls. Certainly, such an arrangement could never have proven workable, but it was not put up to the test. The war came on with swift footsteps, and when it had passed, Mexico had gone the way of Spain," and, Smythe should have added, the mission despoilers ere long received their deserts. For the United States Courts declared the "sale" illegal, and delivered the property to the Catholic Church, that is to say whatever under Spanish law had been regarded as Church property. The only losers were the Indian neophyte owners of the land and stock which had been wasted or "granted" to private individuals. If the reader will turn to volume four of *Missions and Missionaries* and will study the whole sordid transaction of Pico and of the so-called Californians, he will easily reach just conclusions.

The deed of sale was drawn up at Los Angeles, signed by Pio Pico and countersigned by his secretary José Matias Moreno, on June 8, 1846, a month before the United States flag was hoisted at Monterey and the territory delivered of unscrupulous paisano misrule.

On July 24, 1846, while fleeing before the United States troops, Pio Pico had the audacity to write to Fr. Oliva, ordering him to deliver the Mission and all its appurtenances to Santiago Argüello by means of an inventory.[22]

Pico had begun early to dispose of the lands cultivated by the neophytes for themselves. For instance, on December 15, 1845, Miguel Pedrorena from Santa Barbara thanked Pio Pico for granting the tract called El Cajón to his wife.[23] But that grant whetted his own appetite; for on January 2, 1846, the same Miguel Pedrorena wrote to Pio Pico asking him to expedite as quickly as possible the grant to the tract known as San Jacinto properly belonging to Mission San Luis Rey, "because in this matter, as in all of its class, it is exceedingly expedient under these circumstances to be

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[22] *Cal. Arch., Unbound Documents*, p. 264; 390. Bancroft Collection.
[23] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap.*, vi, pp. 458-461.

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placed in possession on account of the possibility of the arrival of a commission from Mexico. I have already recommended the matter to Don Luis Argüello, so that he might not be backward because it would prejudice us." [24]

With these hungry henchmen of the young rulers the question of right and wrong was not worth considering. All they asked themselves was: will it prejudice our claims or will it advance them? That the Indians were in possession from time immemorial was the least difficulty these claimants had to encounter. With them, might was right. Accordingly, on July 8, one day after the United States had taken possession of California, Narciso Botello, one of the Pico legislators, certified to the grant of the tract called San Jacinto to Miguel F. Pedrorena.[25] Thus was done all over California. Thus the lands of the Missions were manipulated into the hands of claimants without regard to the rights of the Indians, who under Spanish laws would not have lost a foot of their property against their will.

Such crying injustice and heartless selfishness, however, could not long remain unpunished. In due time, the pestiferous activities inaugurated against the peaceful mission homes of the neophytes by Echeandia and continued by the unscrupulous young Californians, bore bitter fruit. They had incited the Indians to disregard the missionaries and to conduct themselves as free men. The vicious among the neophytes quickly learned the lesson and put it into practice. They joined the pagans in the mountains or deserts and raids on ranchos for the purpose of stealing horses were thereafter a common occurrence. "Occasionally," says Smythe, "some of the Indians, who had been at the missions, returned to their old haunts and led in raids. The ranchmen would unite and go into the hills in parties of ten or twelve, well armed, to punish the thieves and to recover the live stock. They would frequently recover the stolen property, but often fierce fights took place in which

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[24] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap.*, vii, p. 351.
[25] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap.*, viii, p. 409.

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as many as eight or ten Indians would be killed, as well as an occasional ranchman. After the secularization of the missions, the conditions of the Indians became very miserable, and while large numbers of them continued to live in rancherías and practiced the rude arts which they had learned from the missionaries, the others were forced by want, and doubtless also led by inclination, to get their living by joining in these raids. . . . Between the years 1836 and 1840, nearly all the ranches were plundered, and agriculture fell to a very low ebb. In the spring of 1836, there were loud complaints, but the soldiers could furnish no protection, as they were without arms and ammunition. The savages became so bold that they even made raids into the town."[26] So the secularization was a success, indeed, in that it had successfully impoverished the country and had aroused the latent wild instinct of the Indians whom the missionaries had found it easy to restrain without the force of arms, showing thereby that their system was the correct one, after all.

The condition of the military post was especially distressing. Doubtless the soldiers wished they had treated the poor missionaries with more appreciation, seeing that starvation and nakedness followed their removal from the control of the Indians. Smythe writes, for instance, that in April, 1834, Lieutenant Salazár could not go to Monterey for want of a shirt and jacket! He had only a poor cloak to cover the "frightful condition of his trousers. There was no food for the prisoners. These were, therefore, farmed out to any citizen who would feed them. In February, 1837, fourteen prisoners were engaged on public works—three in repairing the plaza road, and several more at work on the courthouse and jail, which were deemed more urgent than the church. The presidio building was abandoned about 1835, and by 1840 it was in ruins. A few half-starved soldiers lingered as a melancholy reminder

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[26] *History of San Diego,* pp. 181-182.

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of former glory." There is a tradition, Smythe affirms, that in 1839 the garrison consisted of one soldier at the presidio and eight at San Luis Rey, and that they disbanded in September in order to escape death by starvation.[27]

"Much of the building material on the hill," the same author relates, "had by this time, 1839, been carried down and used in the erection of the new town at the foot of the hill. The church and other remaining buildings were unroofed by the commandant and the tiles sold to satisfy demands which he had against the government." [28]

That the common sufferings had caused the inhabitants of San Diego, and for the matter of that everywhere in California at the time, to begin to recall and to turn wistfully to the past, is evident from their complaints, one of which is expressed in the following official paper:

Monterey, April 23, 1836. Governor Gutiérrez to the alcalde of Los Angeles on the remonstrance of some inhabitants of San Diego, relating to the evils which the Decree of Secularization had brought on.

This political government is advised of the official letter of the fourteenth of the present month sent by you through a special messenger, and enclosing the nature of the proceedings of that illustrious council and the remonstrance made to the same municipality on March 22 by Juan Bandini and several other gentlemen, both native and foreigner, inhabiting said port, and complaining of the incursions which in that part of the country the Indians are making in search of horses. They lament the decay which the missions have undergone because of the law and subsequent Reglamento for their secularization, which were a damage to the agriculture of the missions and caused the losses which for this reason the commerce of the territory is suffering. They conclude with an apostrophe to the military of the privations they suffer, and propose as a remedy the creation of a Junta or General Assembly, composed of military officials, the clergy, and the town councils, who should direct their energy to the amelioration of the political and economical condition of the country, repress the robberies of the Indians, encourage agriculture and commerce, etc.[29]

Nothing seems to have come of the petition. At all

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[27] *History of San Diego*, p. 128.

[28] Ibidem, p. 129.

[29] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Angeles*, xi, pp. 293-296.

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events, the raids continued, as a report of Santiago Argüello, comandante of the port of San Diego, dated July 6, 1837, demonstrates. "The administrator of the Mission of San Diego," he writes, "notified me to-day that last night at the second watch hostile Indians fell upon Rancho of San Bernardo, killed the corporal, the cheese-maker, and a shepherd, and wounded the son of the puppet-show man, and that they have killed them." [30]

"Respecting the other pueblos of the district, Las Flores, San Dieguito, and San Pasqual," says Bancroft, "we have a few meager items for the years 1841-1842, just enough to indicate their continued existence. After 1842 nothing appears in the records of this period, though San Pasqual certainly and Las Flores probably were not wholly abandoned until after 1845."

The items referred to by Bancroft are these: Tadeo and José Barrena were *jueces de campo* for San Dieguito, April, 1841. Pio Pico was *encargado* of Las Flores in 1842. In February, March, and April there was much dissatisfaction among the Indians of Las Flores with the Picos. The *juez* went to see them and explained that Pico still had authority; but he appointed three Indian alcaldes here and also at San Pasqual and San Dieguito, much to the satisfaction of the Indians. Pico required them to fence in their land in order to keep out his (!) cattle. Mofras says (vol. i, p. 343) that there were 400 Indians at Las Flores in 1842. Later figures there are none. In October, 1841, an Indian girl at San Pasqual committed suicide. In February, 1841, J. A. Yorba applied for a lot 500 by 400 varas at Las Flores, which was also called San Pedro; but the grant was refused, as the land would not support more people than were there already.[31]

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[30] Hayes, *Mission Book*, vol. i, p. 322; Bancroft Collection.
[31] Bancroft, vol. iv, p. 628.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Last Baptism at Mission.—Estudillo in Charge.—Last Franciscan.—United States Soldiers at San Diego.—General Kearny and Commodore Stockton.—Mormon Battalion.—Pico's Bill of Sale of Mission.—Argüello Disclaims Ownership.—Correspondence.—Miss Lorenzana on Condition of Mission Goods.—Sacred Vessels Desecrated.—José Estudillo Resigns.—Colonel Stevenson to Governor Mason.—Halleck to Stevenson on Mission Property.—Halleck to Fr. Gonzalez Rúbio.—Fr. Gonzalez to Colonel Stevenson.—Lt. Ord's Description of the Old Town and Harbor.—Mission.—Mission Goods Once More.—Bartlett on the Mission.—Archbishop Alemany's Claim to Property Affirmed.—Land Grants.—Ranchos Claimed and Granted.—Bartlett's Description.—The Camino Real.

THE church building and other portions of the mission must have been in a tolerably serviceable condition all these years, for on June 14, 1846, Fr. Vicente writes in the Baptismal Register, "On this day, in the church of this Mission of San Diego, I solemnly baptized a child seventeen days old, the legitimate son of José de la Luz and Teresa his wife, Indians of the presidio, to whom I gave the name José Antonio. The godmother was Candelaria who is married to Juan Cheriguita." The entry bears number 7,126. It was the last made by Fr. Oliva and is also the last in the second book of Baptisms.

Fr. Oliva then retired to San Juan Capistrano and from there he named José Antonio Estudillo administrator of Mission San Diego, in order that, during the absence of a priest, he might care for what was left of the mission.[1] From San Juan Capistrano, in October, 1847, Fr. Oliva wrote to the military commander, whose headquarters were at Los Angeles, and complained against the captain of the United States soldiers at San Diego. His charge was that the said captain had given orders to remove the tiles from the habitations of Mission San Diego, and that other

[1] *Cal. Arch., Unbound Documents*, p. 390, Bancroft Collection.

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goods which ought to be respected as sacred had been taken to the presidio. He begged, therefore, that the said captain be prohibited from disposing of them.[2]

This is the last reference to the last Franciscan connected with Mission San Diego. What the articles were is not indicated. The complaint requires a brief explanation. The United States sloop *Cyane*, commanded by Captain F. Dupont, arrived from Monterey in the harbor on July 29, 1846. The marines numbered about eighty men. Lieutenant Maddox in command of a guard of marines was sent ashore in the afternoon in order to take possession of the town and to hoist the American flag. Toward evening, Captain John C. Fremont with about eighty soldiers went ashore. They experienced no opposition whatever. The naval flag used on this occasion was raised on the plaza of Old Town. On December 7, after his fight at San Pascual,[3] General Stephen W. Kearny with a small party of exhausted men, reached the presidio and remained at San Diego to recuperate before marching on to Los Angeles. It does not appear that any of the force, now camped at the port, took up quarters at the mission, nor that they committed any acts of vandalism. The situation at the harbor is described in a report of United States Quartermaster, Thomas Swords, dated October 8, 1847.

On our arrival at San Diego, finding no provisions or supplies of any kind, except those belonging to the navy, who were themselves on a short allowance, and being unable to procure anything in the country but cattle, I was directed by General Kearny to proceed to the Sandwich Islands for the purpose of procuring funds and the necessary articles for the quartermaster's subsistence and medical department.[4]

Soon after his arrival, Commodore Stockton issued the following order:

From this date, August the 15th, 1846, the tonnage duties on all

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[2] *Cal. Arch., Unbound Documents*, p. 389, Bancroft Collection.

[3] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv., pp. 572-573.

[4] *Message of the President. House of Representatives.* Thirtieth Congress. *Executive Document*, No. 1, p. 228.

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foreign vessels arriving in the ports of California will be fifty cents per ton. And the duties on all goods imported from foreign parts will be fifteen per cent "ad valorem," payable in three instalments of 30, 80, and 120 days.

R. F. STOCKTON,
Commander-in-Chief and Governor of the Territory of California.[5]

On January 29, 1847, the Mormon Volunteer Battalion arrived at San Diego from the east and they appear to have taken up their quarters at the Mission. At all events, Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Cooke, on January 30, issued his first general order to the Battalion from "Headquarters Mormon Battalion, Mission San Diego." In this order, he congratulated and praised the battalion for their past conduct.[6] On February 1, they left for San Luis Rey, where part of the force remained two months. A company occupied also the port at San Diego. How long they stayed is uncertain, though the following letter throws some light on the matter and on others mentioned before and it also in some way explains Fr. Oliva's letter.

San Diego, October 17, 1847.—Daniel C. Davis, Captain First Company Mormon Volunteers, Commander at San Diego, to Colonel J. D. Stevenson. On Affairs of San Diego Mission.

The occupant of the Mission states he was left in charge of the Mission and property in August, 1846, by Fr. Vicente Oliva, now residing at Mission San Juan Capistrano. A power of attorney from said Fr. Oliva to José A. Estudillo shows he still claims jurisdiction of the property.

Santiago Argüello has also a claim, purporting to be a sale to him of the Mission by Pio Pico, when he was governor of California.

According to the best information upon California affairs, the claim founded on that sale is not valid, besides the order for the delivery of the property has not been executed.

Alleged Bill of Sale to Santiago Argüello from Governor Pico:—

A full conveyance and sale to Santiago Argüello of the Mission of San Diego in consideration of his long public services and assistance given the government for which he has not been indemnified, on the following conditions:[7] 1. He shall pay to the creditors the debts of the Mission. 2. From the date all expenses to support an efficient

[5] *Executive Document*, No. 60, p. 270.

[6] Bancroft, vol. v, pp. 486-487.

[7] This statement is corroborated by Pio Pico himself. He says:

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Curate and public worship to be paid by S. Argüello. 3. No one shall allege *lesion enorme*—any excess in value to remain in favor of the purchases, no one offering more therefor. 4. Except from above sale the Church and all pertaining thereto and the residence of the officiating priest.

The deed purports to bear the signature of Pio Pico.

Remarks. Said Mission still in possession of the officiating priest Fr. Vicente Oliva. Don Santiago told me in private conversation in June last that he had not claimed possession awaiting the action of the American government; that he did not think the former California government had a right to dispose of the property of the Indians in this manner; but that as others were buying Missions, he might as well have one too, supposed to have been given August 8, 1846, but *ante-dated.*[8]

Sergeant Tyler of the Mormon Battalion says, "The buildings of the old Catholic Mission of San Diego were dilapidated, and only used by a few rather filthy Indians. The olive, date, and some ornamental trees were found in the garden of the Mission."[9]

On the same day, Captain Davis addressed Fr. Oliva to this effect:

San Diego, October 17, 1847.

Dear Sir:—I enclose you the copy of a circular received by me from Governor Mason requiring the occupants or claimants of certain Missions or Mission property to furnish Col. J. D. Stevenson or such person as he may designate for that purpose, copies of all contracts or agreements by which they hold possession of said property.

In relation therefore to San Diego Mission, I am authorized by Col. Stevenson to require of you copies of all contracts or agreements by which you hold possession of the Mission or Mission property.

Yours Very Respectfully,

DANIEL C. DAVIS,
Capt. 1st Comp. Mor. Vol.,
Commanding San Diego.

Father Vicente Oliva, San Juan.[10]

"La Mision de San Diego se le dio al Cap. Santiago Argüello en pago de sus servicios, pues se le debian los sueldos de muchos años."—Pio Pico, *Documentos,* ii, 171-172.

[8] *Sta. Barb. Arch.; Cal. Arch., Unbound Documents,* pp. 97-99, Bancroft Collection. See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, p. 763.

[9] Tyler, *The Mormon Battalion,* p. 254.

[10] Fr. Oliva perhaps said nothing. Nor was it necessary in view of

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The following correspondence explains itself:

Viva Jesus!

San Juan Capistrano,
January 25, 1848.

Rev. Fr. Presidente José Joaquin Jimeno.

My Very Rev. Father:

After saluting Your Reverence with the respect and affection which I entertain for you, I pass on to communicate to Your Reverence by means of this letter that from persons worthy of credit we have received notice that the doors of the church of Mission San Diego have been removed; and that from the wardrobes, in which the sacred vessels and other valuables usually adorning the altar were preserved, they took out the chalices and silver candlesticks. It is not known what other valuables they may have taken out, because some have been found buried in the arroyo, others in the taverns, and others in the smithy of the Americans, already broken to pieces. And through the same persons who have furnished this information it is known that this wickedness and robbery must be attributed to the American soldiers. Therefore, Father Presidente, this information has been very sad and painful to me. Hence I was determined to bring away all the vestments and valuables of said church; but I shall not do so until I know the pleasure and will of Your Reverence and of the Administrator of the diocese, to whom also I am writing the same news. I also wish to tell Your Reverence that in case permission is granted me to take away all those goods of the church as soon as it pleases God, I oblige myself to go there and fetch them as soon as I can; for just now I have no mind to go to San Diego, in order not to deprive myself longer of spiritual comfort, etc.

Meanwhile, I remain Your Reverence's most obedient Apolinaria Lorenzana.[11]

Miss Lorenzana was a most worthy woman, who devoted her life to taking care of the church goods and ornaments, and doing charitable works generally. She will be heard of again at San Juan Capistrano where she lived at this period. The following document explains some of the contents of her letter.

San Diego, February 7, 1848.

Very Rev. Fr. José Joaquin Jimeno:—

In my two previous letters I have made known to Your Reverence

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Gen. Kearny's Proclamation issued March 22, 1847. See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 583-584.

[11] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

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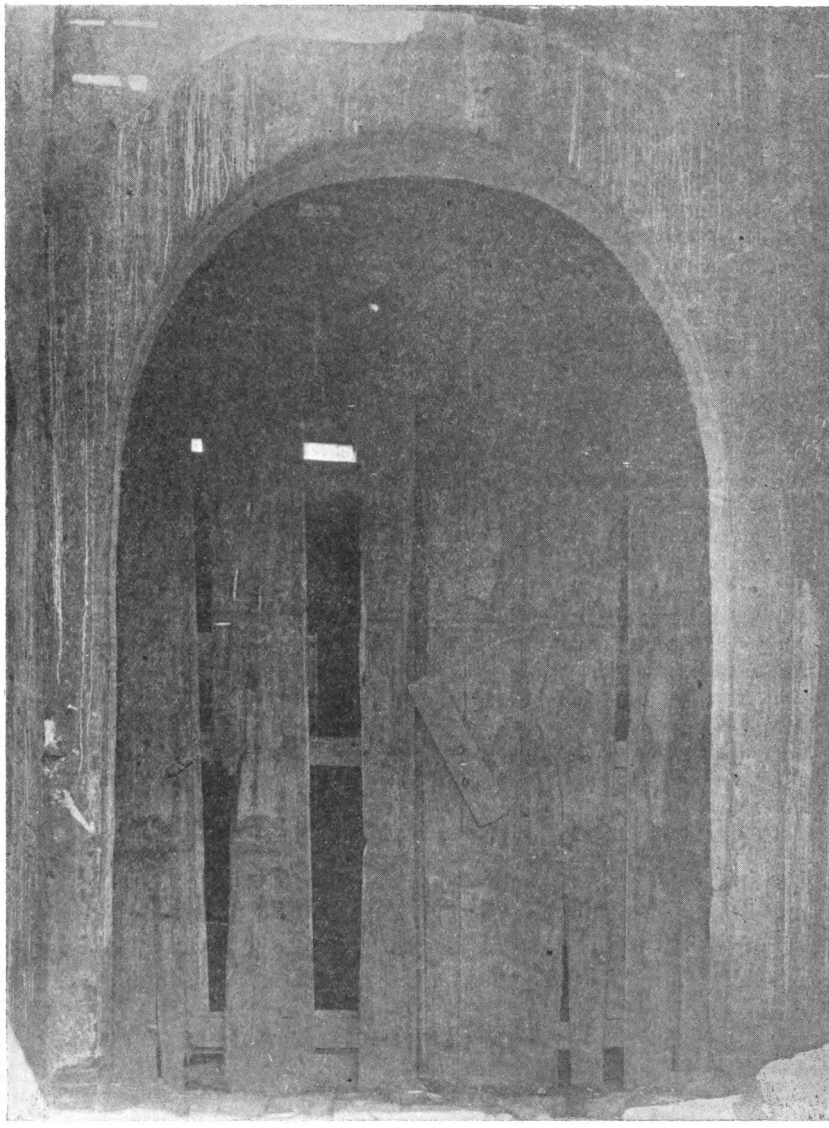

FRONT DOOR OF MISSION CHURCH. SHOWS STYLE OF CARVING.

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all that has occurred in the Mission of San Diego, and to-day I bring to your knowledge that I have discovered in a net in the sand of this arroyo the following: one silver ciborium, three chalices, one patena, two stocks for large silver candlesticks, six sockets for silver candlesticks, two pieces of silver the purpose of which I do not know, two smaller silver candlesticks, etc.

Besides these things some pieces of coin were found which had been robbed and some tablets with two moulds, all of which I have delivered to the judge together with all the dates that I could find. Till now nothing has been taken away. Wishing to give Your Paternity correct information on what may be wanting, I wrote to San Juan to Doña Apolinaria, who has knowledge about everything in the church, and who, as I was aware, had taken away some things by order of the deceased Father in order to make arrangements for Holy Week; but to this date I have received no reply. Neither the holy sepulcher nor the tabernacle have been found. If they are not at San Juan, I believe they have been stolen.

I wish that Your Reverence would reply to me regarding the matter; for I wish to sever my connection with it for reasons that are highly disagreeable to me. I have cheerfully taken part in the affair only because the crime should not remain unpunished; but I have no hope of effecting anything. I wish Your Reverence good health, and offering you my services, I beg to remain,

Yours very respectfully,

José A. Estudillo.[12]

On August 9, 1848, Colonel Stevenson wrote to Governor Mason:

No person is willing to remain long in charge of Mission San Diego. If the Mission is left in its present state, the property will soon disappear. The movable property should be sold at once and the proceeds paid into the civil treasury. Some old Indians still remain who claim support from the mission property. If the claim is just they might receive a beef ration from the post, or an arrangement might be made with some citizens of San Diego to take a few head of cattle and maintain the Indians during life. The property is worth something now; in a few months there will be nothing left.[13]

In reply came this note:

State Department Territory of California.

Monterey, August 18, 1848.

Sir:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of August 9, and the enclosed inventory of property belonging to the Mission of

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[12] *Sta. Barb. Arch.* A pity that the two letters mentioned are lost. They would have set clear things now obscure.

[13] *Cal. Arch., Unbound Documents,* p. 159, Bancroft Collection.

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San Diego. You will perceive from the enclosed copy of a letter of this date to Padre Gonzales, that Colonel Mason had directed the property to be placed at his disposition.

Very respectfully, etc.,

H. W. Halleck, etc.

The order of Governor Mason to which Halleck refers reads as follows:

State Department Territory of California,
Monterey, August 18, 1848.

Very Reverend Sir:—Enclosed herewith is an inventory of the movable and self-moving property belonging to the Mission of San Diego, now in the hands of Philip Crostwait.[14] The governor directs that this property be delivered to your reverence, to be disposed of as your reverence may deem proper. It had better be taken care of immediately, for if neglected for a few months it will entirely disappear. I have the honor to be your reverence's most obedient servant,

H. W. Halleck,
Lieutenant of Engineers and
Secretary of State.

To the Very Reverend José Maria de Jesus Gonzales, Governor of the Bishopric of California, Santa Barbara.[15]

Fr. Gonzales Rubio, the Administrator of the diocese, on September 8, wrote to Colonel Stevenson, concerning the renting of Mission San Diego, as follows:

I have received your letter of the sixth of this month, in which you communicate that you have received orders from Governor Mason to place at my disposition the Mission of San Diego, but before receiving said orders the Mission had been for two years rented to a private individual charged with its care. In reply, I have to say that on August 29 I received a letter from the Secretary, H. W. Halleck, in which he says that through the disposition of the governor he is sending an inventory of the goods and live stock of the Mission; but as this concerns not me but the Commissary Prefect of the Missions, Fr. José Joaquin Jimeno, I transmit those original documents to said Prefect.[16]

On September 10, Fr. Jimeno wrote to the governor, in-

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[14] He was the lessee of the Mission at the time and received the property by inventory from E. L. Brown, on August 6, 1848. See Appendix F.

[15] *Executive Document*, No. 17, *House of Representatives*, Thirty-first Congress, p. 596. Spanish Ms. copy in *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[16] *Cal. Arch., Unbound Documents*, pp. 214-215, Bancroft Collection.

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quiring as to the manner of delivering the property of Mission San Diego which the governor ordered turned over to the Father Superior, and that he would confer with Fr. Gonzales Rubio on the matter.[17]

Unfortunately, nothing seems to have been done for more than a year; for, on November 6, 1849, Lieutenant E. O. C. Ord, of Third Artillery, reporting to Major A. R. S. Canby on his trip to the Mission writes as follows:

"Here (San Diego) there is a good frigate harbor—the quietest on this coast. The steamers have established their coal depot at this place in preference to San Francisco. The entrance, about two hundred yards wide, is of easy defense. The town containing about twenty badly built adobe houses and two good ones, is five miles from the anchorage; a road leads around the bay shore, bordered by naked hills. Small boats can not get within half a mile of the town (i.e. Old Town) owing to the shallow water and marsh mud. The town was built here because it is the only point on the bay where a good supply of water can be had from the little river which here in summer empties its waters into the bay. In the autumn these waters dry or sink into the sandy bed. I followed this bed of sand through its valley amongst low cactus covered clay hills, *seven miles, to the mission. There I found the old walls tumbling in, and everything going to ruins. The vineyard and olive trees still produced a few fruit. The library should be placed in charge of some one interested in its preservation.* From the mission along the river it is about five miles more to a gap in the hills, where the valley heads. Near this gap are a few sycamore trees and willow bushes, the only timber in the valley. This valley, though much smaller than that of Carmel, has good soil, and if cultivated would perhaps maintain three or four hundred inhabitants. There is still in good preservation an aqueduct leading from the running water in the hills to the mission, which with a little more care would supply water for irrigation to the whole valley." Writing from

[17] *Cal. Arch., Unbound Documents,* p. 391, Bancroft Collection.

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Monterey a few days previously, on October 31, 1849, Lieutenant Ord said, "Many emigrants arriving at San Diego are destitute; neither bread, flour, nor sugar can be purchased there." [18]

One more document is found touching this matter. It reads:

State Department of California,
Monterey, July 2, 1849.

Major:—I am directed by General Riley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 4, respecting certain property belonging to the Mission of San Diego. Governor Mason, in August last, authorized the turning over of this property to Padre Gonzales of Santa Barbara; but if neither the Padre nor his agents take possession of it, and it is likewise to be lost or injured from neglect, you are authorized to dispose of it by sale, turning over the proceeds to Captain Lyon, as "civil funds."

Very Respectfully, etc.,
H. W. Halleck,
Brevet Captain, etc.

Major S. P. Heintzelman,
Commanding, San Diego, Cal.[19]

"Six miles from the town of San Diego," writes Bartlett, who visited the place in May, 1852, "following up the valley, is the venerable Mission of the same name, a spot possessing great picturesque beauty, and surrounded by fertile and well watered lands. It was the last of the California mission that was abandoned; and but five years ago its ancient library and its priests still remained. The buildings, which are of adobe, are not extensive, but are in good preservation. They possess more of an oriental appearance than any similar establishment. There was formerly a large vineyard and orchard, containing figs, peaches, etc., a portion of which is still in existence. The place is celebrated also for a flourishing orchard of olive trees, which still remain yielding a great abundance of olives, the excellence of which we had an opportunity of tasting on our homeward journey. The

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[18] *Executive Document*, No. 47, *Thirty-first Congress*, 1st *Session*, *Senate*, Report of the Secretary of War, pp. 122-123; 120.

[19] *Halleck's Report*, p. 796.

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mission is at present occupied by United States troops under the command of Colonel J. B. Magruder, and in consequence is kept in good repair." [20]

The Mission lands were claimed by Archbishop José Sadoc Alemany of San Francisco for the Catholic Church, and finally they were so adjudged by the United States Land Commission, on December 18, 1855. The property was confirmed to the Catholic Church in virtue of the Spanish laws on the subject. It comprised the church buildings, priests' dwelling, the gardens, orchards, and vineyards.[21] The extent of land thus assigned varied. For Mission San Diego, the land confirmed to Bishop Alemany, on May 23, 1862, amounted to 22:21 acres.[22]

Land grants to individuals were made at an early date. The first one, indeed, at the instance of Fr. Junípero Serra himself.[23] Nor were the Fathers averse to granting lands provided the rights and needs of the neophytes were safeguarded, and provided the petitioners would prove suitable neighbors. Both conditions must appeal to any unprejudiced, fair-minded man. The land belonged to the Indians. According to the laws of Spain, no part of the land could be taken from the Indians against their will, so long as they cultivated it or occupied it for any purpose. The missionaries, being the guardians of the Indians, had to see that their rights in this respect were recognized. By the year 1800, frequently in spite of the protests of the missionaries, numerous grants had been made in various parts of California, not excepting the San Diego district. Here the first attempt was made to seize land which had been cultivated and used by the Mission for the neophytes; but surely the Indians never expected that others were to enjoy what they had made valuable by their labor under the guidance of the missionaries. The same view must be taken with

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[20] Bartlett, John Russel, *Personal Narrative*, pp. 103-104.

[21] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, p. 745.

[22] Smythe, *History of San Diego*, p. 113. See Appendix G.

[23] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 638-643.

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regard to all the ranches named, which were cultivated or otherwise used by the neophytes in charge of the Franciscans, but which contrary to their expectations were delivered to others than neophytes. In the light of these remarks, the pathetic statement made by Colonel Stevenson on the action of some of the Indians at the deserted Mission emphasizes the injustice inflicted. "Some old Indians still remain," he reports to Governor Mason, in August, 1848, "who claim support from the mission property. If it is a just claim they might receive a beef ration from the post, or an arrangement might be made with some citizens of San Diego to take a few cattle and maintain them during life."

Various attempts at land-grabbing justly failed, because the Fathers protested and the Spanish law was still in force, protecting the rights of the Indians first and always. But no sooner had the missionaries been removed from control through the act of confiscation passed by the California, not the Mexican, government, in 1834, than Ruiz in partnership with F. M. Alvarado succeeded in securing the nearly 9,000 acres of the Peñasquito Rancho.[24]

Smythe, in his History of San Diego, gives the following list of ranchos in San Diego County, claimed and granted, with the number of acres they comprised.

Name of Rancho	*Claimants*	*Year Granted*	*Acres*
Santa Margarita and Las Flores	Pio and Andres Pico		89,742:93
Mission San Diego	Santiago Argüello	1846	58,208:00
San Jacinto Nuevo	Miguel de Pedrorena	1846	48,823:67
El Cajón	M. A. Pedrorena		48,799:34
Santa Rosa	Juan Moreno	Oct. 10, 1872	47,815:10
San Jacinto Viejo	Jos. A. Estudillo	1846	35,504:00
Cuyamaca	Agustin Olvera		35,501:32
Rancho Nacional	John Forster	Aug. 3, 1858	26,631:94
San José del Valle (Warner's Ranch)	J. J. Warner	1846	26,629:88
Pauba	Luis Vignes	Jan. 19, 1860	26,597:96

[24] Bancroft, vol. ii, pp. 547, 663; vol. iii, p. 612.

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Name of Rancho	*Claimants*	*Year Granted*	*Acres*
Temécula	Luis Vignes	Jan. 18, 1860	26,608:94
Sobrante de S. Jacinto	Miguel de Pedrorena Rosario E. de Aguirre		22,195:00
San Bernardo	José Francisco Snooks		17,763:07
Santa Isabél	José Joaquin Ortega	May 4, 1872	17,719:40
Santa Maria (Pamó)	José Joaquin Ortega et al.	July 30, 1872	17,708:85
San Vicente	Juan Lopez	1846	13,539:96
La Laguna	Abel Stearns	Sept. 3, 1872	13,338:80
Monserrate	Isidro M. Alvarado	July 17, 1872	13,322:90
Valle de las Viejas	Ramon and Leandro Osuna	1846	13,314:00
Agua Hedionda	Juan Maria Marron		13,311:01
Pauma	J. A. Serrano, J. Aguilar, Blas Aguilar	May 3, 1871	13,309:60
Guejito	George W. Hamley	May 24, 1866	13,298:59
Rincon del Diablo	Heirs of J. B. Alvarado	May 3, 1872	12,653:77
San Felipe	Juan Forster	Aug. 6, 1866	9,972:08
San Marcos	José M. Alvarado		8,978:29
Jamacha	Apolinaria Lorenzana	1840	8,881:16
Jamul	Pio Pico		8,876:00
La Jolla			8,872:00
San Dieguito	Juan M. Osuna		8,824:71
Peñasquitas	F. M. Ruiz and F. M. Alvarado		8,486:01
Otay	Magdalena Estudillo et al.	1846	6,557:98
Tecate	Juan Bandini		4,439:00
Janal	Victoria Dominguez	June 30, 1872	4,436:00
Los Encinitos	Andres Ibarra	Apr. 18, 1871	4,431:03
Peninsula of San Diego	Arch. C. Peachy and W. H. Aspinwall	June 11, 1869	4,185:46
Guajome	Andres and José Manuel (Indians)		2,219:41
Buena Vista	Felipe (Indian)		2,219:08
Potrero de San Juan Capistrano			1,167:74
El Cariso and La Ciénaga			1,167:00
Mission San Luis Rey	Bishop J. S. Alemany	Mar. 10, 1865	**53:39**
Mission San Diego	Bishop J. S. Alemany	May 23, 1862	22:21

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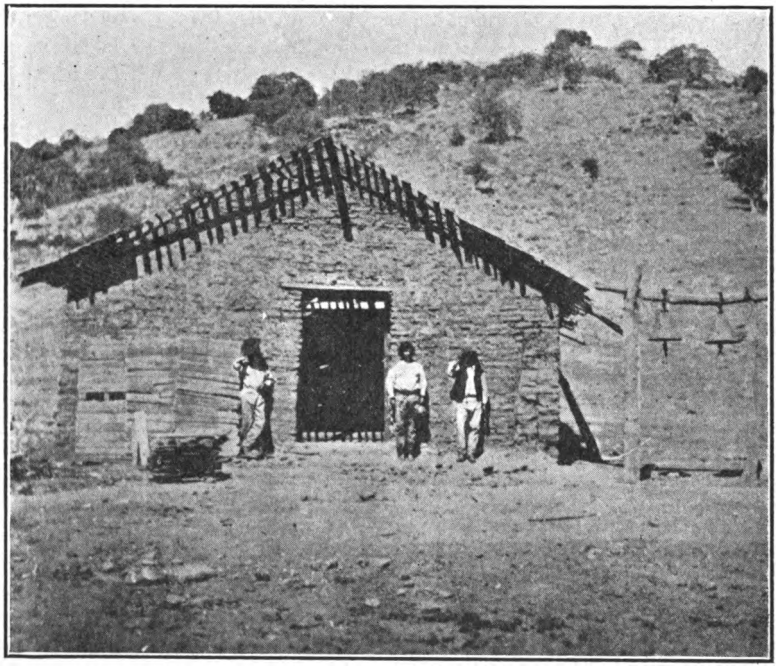
Those not accompanied by date of month appear to have been rejected or they were not brought before the Land Commission.[25]

From Bartlett we cull a few remarks regarding the various ranchos he found on his way to El Paso, Texas, in 1852.

"Ten miles from San Diego, is Soledad Hill, which is very steep and difficult to pass. Several families have lately



CHAPEL AND BELLS OF SANTA ISABEL.

settled here, who make a profitable business of cutting the wild oats and carrying them to market at San Diego.

"In the afternoon, we reached the San Pasqual River, a

[25] Smythe, pp. 112-113; for the various transactions of this kind see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 747-777; also Bancroft, vol. iii, pp. 611-612, note 7. Smythe gives no references, but probably he consulted the County Clerk's Office.

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small limpid stream, running through a rich valley covered with fine grass. About a mile in advance we saw a large rancho. This was the hacienda of Mrs. Snooks, a California lady, the widow of an Englishman. . . The distance to San Diego is called thirty-six miles. San Pasqual was the scene of an action between the United States troops and those of Mexico. May 29th we took leave of our hospitable friends; and continuing across the plain and along the valley near the river, we reached, in six miles, the Indian village of San Pasqual, consisting of forty or fifty rude huts of mud, grass, and poles. A few patches of ground seemed to be cultivated; but on the whole the place bore a miserable appearance.

"Santa Isabel is an Indian village, and was once a place of some note, when the missionary establishments were in the ascendancy. A roofless church and a few miserable huts are now all that remain. Nevertheless the inhabitants cultivate the soil, and by means of irrigation, which they well understood, raise wheat, maize, pumpkins, and beans. The vine succeeds very well here, and was formerly cultivated to a considerable extent. Several of the Indians, who belong to the Diegueño tribe, visited our camp to-day. (May 30). They were dressed in their holiday clothes, such as red and white shirts; while the chief Tomaso, who seemed an intelligent man, wore an old coat trimmed with silver lace, which had once belonged to some Mexican soldier.

"We pushed on to the Indian village of San Felipe, near which we encamped. The distance traveled (from Santa Isabel) was twenty-eight miles. Early in the morning (June 2) our tents were thronged with Indians, who appeared to belong to the Diegueño tribe. They were a filthy looking set, half clad and apparently half starved. During the day, we saw many men and women wading about the marsh gathering roots and seeds; of which two articles and acorns, their principal food consists. The women appear to be the chief laborers, the men lounging about the camp most of the day. The improvidence of this people seems

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almost incomprehensible. A very little exertion would have repaid them with all the wheat, maize, and vegetables, required for their subsistence. To these they might add a few cattle, which, in this country, may be obtained for a mere trifle from the ranchos, whose increase in this fine valley would give them a plentiful supply of meat. As it is they have neither corn nor meat, and spend ten times as much labor in collecting the roots, seeds, and other wretched food they live on, as would be necessary by cultivating the soil to produce bread, fruits, and meats in abundance. Their village consists of twenty-three miserable old huts or wigwams built of straw and rushes. Some were covered with raw hides of various colors. A few small patches of ground were cultivated, not exceeding altogether a couple of acres. This was not for want of land, as there are many hundred acres of good land around them, which by irrigation could be made very fertile. From appearances near the village, I was led to believe that there had long been a settlement here, there being not only traces of former buildings in every direction, but also of acequias or trenches for irrigating the lands.

"We reached Vallecita (June 2) eighteen miles from San Felipe, where we pitched our tents among some willows. Vallecita, as the name indicates, is a little valley, surrounded by lofty and barren mountains. . . A depot of provisions is kept at this place, with a file of soldiers, for the supply of Fort Yuma, and of government trains passing and repassing. A few horses are also kept here to facilitate the communication between Fort Yuma and San Diego. The distance between those two places is about two hundred and twenty-five miles, and Vallecita is about half way. Beyond it towards the Colorado there is little or no grass. . . A band of Diegueño Indians live here. They made their appearance early this morning, dressed in their holiday clothes, and appeared more cleanly than any Indians we had seen. Nearly all wore clean white or fancy calico shirts, their only garment, pantaloons being regarded by all Indians as useless articles of dress. These people were formerly connected

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with the Missions, and hence call themselves Christians; but they live in a most degraded state of indolence and poverty. They cultivate beans and pumpkins, and pick up an occasional mule, which serves them for food, though their main reliance is upon acorns, which they collect and store up in large baskets for winter use. The labor of preparing them for food is, like almost all other labor, performed by the women, who were to be seen in front of every hut wielding their heavy stone pestles. When the acorn is reduced to flour, it is washed to remove the bitter taste, and then cooked into a kind of gruel or made into bread. These Indians were very attentive to us, bringing us wood (which is very scarce here) and water, and otherwise assisting about the camp. They seemed amply repaid with a few old clothes or any fragment of food that remained from our tables. Our culinary department was always the great point of attraction to those poor creatures who would often form a double circle around the camp-fires, much to the annoyance of the cook. The weather was excessively hot to-day, the mercury standing at 105 Fahrenheit in the shade under the bushes.

"June 4th. Carrizo Creek is one of those remarkable streams which sometimes spring up in the desert regions. . . The heat here to-day was insupportable, the mercury ranging at 114 in the shade. The rays of the sun beat through our tents, so that we could not remain in them. Some retreated beneath the wagons; while myself and others found our way into little gullies or ravines beneath the clay banks, where, partly sheltered by the banks and partly by bushes, we passed the day. . . We noticed a peculiarity in the water here, which was that, although sweet, it did not quench the thirst. We drank incessantly without being satisfied." [26]

From Bancroft we take a few more items of interest. The Inventory taken on January 6, 1846, by Andres Pico and Juan Manso, and signed also by Fr. Oliva, gives the total value of the mission at $1,654, of which $1,000 is for the main building, the rest for live stock, 110 cattle, 65 horses,

[26] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative,* vol. ii, pp. 112-128.

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and 4 mules. The credits are $19,588, of which $18,816 is due for supplies to the troops. The debts amount to $1,474, of which $500, due to Miguel Pedrorena, has been paid with Rancho Santa Monica.

On June 8, 1846, Governor Pico granted the deed of sale to Santiago Argüello, who received all the lands and other property excepting the church and the priest's dwelling, but he was bound to support the priest and divine worship, and to pay the mission debts. The consideration was money due to Argüello from the Government for past services. On July 24, seventeen days after the United States flag had been raised in California, be it remembered, Pico ordered Fr. Oliva to surrender the mission estate to Argüello. Fr. Oliva left the mission on the coming of the Americans, and from Mission San Juan Capistrano complained that the commandant had removed the roofs of the mission buildings at San Diego, which must have been reported to him, as he had not been there since July, 1846. According to Colonel Stevenson, August 9, 1848, some old Indians still remained, and he suggested that they receive rations from the United States military post.[27]

The following description made by Lieutenant E. O. C. Ord, in 1849, may aid in determining the exact line of the Camino Real from San Diego to San Luis Rey Mission. "From San Diego (Old Town, of course) I took the road northwest up the coast towards Los Angeles, which was passed around the edge of False Bay, a shallow arm of the sea about three or four miles north of San Diego; no hills between them, though a bluff separates the two hills near the sea. From the False Bay the road leads for thirty miles amongst the low table hills of the coast, similar in formation to those above described, and equally as barren, though at intervals of from four to ten miles it crosses little valleys, which when watered contain an adobe hut or two, some small patches of corn, beans, and pumpkins, and a few cattle. The valley of San Dieguito, twenty miles from

[27] Bancroft, vol. v, pp. 619-620.

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San Diego, if all cultivated, would produce several thousand fanegas of maize, and other things in proportion. From the half dozen patches I saw there, the Indians were gathering from twenty to forty fanegas of maize to the acre—this without irrigation. About thirty-six or forty miles from San Diego, in a similar valley near the seaside, the road passes the now deserted Mission of San Luis Rey.[28]

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[28] *Executive Document, No.* 47, *Thirty-first Congress, Senate,* 1st Session, p. 123.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Missionaries and Registers.—Numerous Converts.—Various Entries.—Santa Isabél.—Fr. Torrent Exhausted.—Second Book of Baptisms.—Tia Juana.—Santa Isabél Again.—Yuma Children.—White Converts.—Wise California Girls.—Marriage Register.—Indian Girls.—The Monjério.—Courtship.—Marriage Entries.—Cemetery.—Burial Entries.—Executions.—Second Book Lost.—Bancroft's Agent.—Fr. Oliva's Last Entries.—Rev. J. C. Holbein's Note.

THE various Mission Registers, after the year 1800 as well as before, contain abundant interesting information. The statistical portion of them will be found condensed in tabular form at the close of the narrative.

From the Baptismal Record we learn that Fr. José Panella baptized for the last time on October 27, 1802. He continued at the mission to the end of the year, however; for we find that on December 31 he signed the annual report, whereupon he retired to Mexico. After his departure, Fr. José Barona appears to have been alone at San Diego until December, 1803, when Fr. Mariano Payeras came and assisted him until October, 1804. On November 7 of that year, Fr. José Bernardo Sanchez begins to enter his hieroglyphics with number 3,152. He was a most zealous missionary and an excellent religious. His penmanship, however, would never have won a premium for beauty and legibility. Fr. Barona was succeeded in 1810 by Fr. José Pedro Panto, who baptized for the last time on June 21, 1812, and nine days later, on June 30, passed to his eternal reward. As the Tabular Statement will show, visiting Fathers, Franciscans and Dominicans, often officiated at the mission by permit of the resident missionary. For instance, on May 18, 1809, Fr. Domingo Carranza of San Luis Rey baptized in the presidio chapel Maria Teresa Isidora de la Guerra, infant daughter of Lieutenant José de la Guerra y Noriega, later of Santa Barbara, and of Antonia Carrillo, his wife. The child was only eight hours old. The sponsors were José Antonio Car-

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rillo and Tomasa Lugo. Reverend Don José Maria Afanador, chaplain of the brigantine *San Carlos,* baptized once in the presidio chapel.

A great number of Indians were converted between the years 1810 and 1812. On August 8, 1810, for instance, Fr. José Sanchez at the mission solemnly baptized thirty-one natives. The entries appear under numbers 3,692-3,723. On August 25, 1810, Fr. Barona baptized nineteen Indians, numbers 3,728-3,747. Similar figures occur in October and November of that year. On June 28, 1812, Fr. Panto administered Baptism to twenty-three Indians. Since all had attained the use of reason, they had to be instructed, which, of course, entailed much labor. On this occasion and later, Josefa Sal, daughter of Captain Hermenegildo Sal, then deceased, was sponsor for the women and girls, while her husband, Sergeant José Roca, acted in the same capacity for the male Indians.

The name of the mission station Santa Isabél or Elcuanan, occurs for the first time in an entry of Baptism administered by Fr. Sanchez on April 25, 1812. The sacrament was administered at the mission. On May 12, 1813, he baptized fifteen catechumens from the same place. San Felipe or Teguila is mentioned for the first time in an entry made by Fr. Sanchez on April 2, 1818.

A Baptism of unusual interest took place on November 7, 1813, on the occasion of the first official visit of Fr. Vicente Francisco de Sarría, who was the first Commissary-Prefect of California, the highest ecclesiastical authority in the territory. "I baptized," the entry reads, "in the presidio chapel, a child of five months, born at sea, daughter of George W. Eayry, Anglo-American, Protestant (who navigating in his frigate, the *Mercurio,* along the coast of California, was taken prisoner by Captain Nicolas Noe of the frigate *Flora*) and of Margaret Pegue, native of the Isle of Sandwich who says she is the wife of the same George. Having ardently supplicated that Baptism be administered to the child according to the Catholic rite, and Eayry having seriously and repeatedly promised that on reaching

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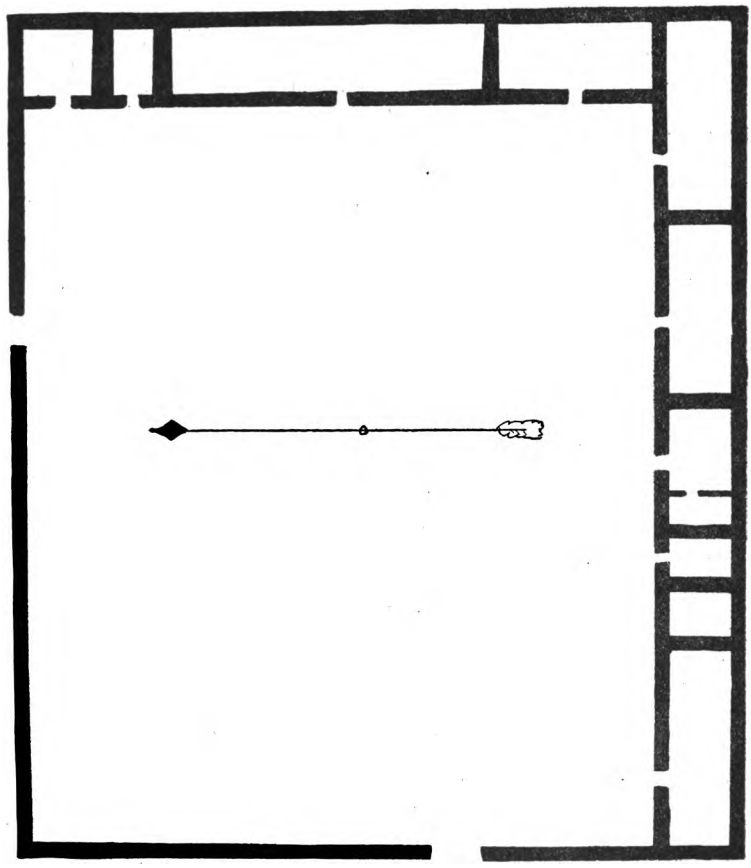
Boston he would present the child to the Spanish consul that through his assistance she might receive from a Catholic



Plan del rancho de Sta Isabel

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priest adequate instruction in the principles of the holy Catholic faith, I believed myself justified in acceding to said petition. I gave the names Maria de los Remedios Josefa

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Antonia. The sponsors were José Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega, Lieutenant of the Cavalry Company of the Presidio of Santa Barbara, native of the Montanas de Santander in Spain, and his wife Maria Antonia Carrillo, native of Los Angeles, California." The entry made by Fr. Sanchez is number 4,070. It is signed by Fr. Sarría.

Fr. Fernando Martin, who succeeded Fr. Barona in 1812, baptized on May 4, 1815, in the presidio chapel, a girl of fifteen years, native of the Isle of Sandwich, who came here in company of an Anglo-American, a Protestant. She received the name Maria Antonia de la Ascension. The sponsors were José de la Guerra and his wife. On June 13, 1815, Fr. Martin baptized Maria de las Angustias Josefa Antonia Bernarda, daughter of José de la Guerra and wife. The sponsors were the Reverend Fr. José de Pineda, O. P., missionary of Mission Santo Tomas, and Tomasa Lugo, the widow of Captain Raymundo Carrillo. Angustias later married Manuel Jimeno Casarin, brother of Fathers Joaquin and Antonio Jimeno, who took a most prominent part in the politics of the territory.

In 1818 and thereafter, divine services were held at Santa Isabél, a church having been erected there. Thenceforth, also Baptisms were administered there, but always with baptismal water blessed at Mission San Diego, as the Fathers are careful to note. Baptisms in that district became quite numerous. Among them, in 1821, was that of an Indian woman ninety years of age. It seems that the two Fathers took turns in going to Santa Isabél. As there were no automobiles in those days and the roads were anything but paved or smooth, the trip must have been unpleasant. But the Fathers found ample compensation in the rich harvest of souls they gathered there.

In this connection, we may refer to a matter regarding which the sources of information say almost nothing. It is only incidentally that allusions occur to the hardships and privations which the missionaries endured and to the anxieties and disappointments that must have frequently embittered their life. The Fathers themselves hardly ever, if at all,

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make mention of this subject. Although they were obliged to serve the missions only ten years, many remained much longer. Most of these silent and unrequited laborers in the service of unappreciative Indians contracted rheumatism and kindred diseases, owing to lack of properly prepared food and to damp lodgings. This rendered their existence doubly burdensome and incapacitated not a few mentally. A case in point was that of Fr. Hilário Torrent, a man of singular intellectual attainments. We learn of his maladies from a letter of Fr. Presidente Lasuén. Writing from San Diego to Governor Borica under date of September 28, 1797, he says: "Fr. Hilário Torrent left yesterday for the presidio in order to embark on the *Princesa*. He is half paralyzed, his memory is impaired, his mind unsettled, his sight dimmed, and his speech obstructed. He weeps and laughs like a child. He is entirely incapacitated for life in this ministry, and there is no cure for him here at San Diego." [1] Such was the effect which twelve years of missionary exertions among the Indians had on a brilliant mind.

By February 21, 1822, the First Book of Baptisms kept at Mission San Diego was filled. The last entry, number 5,270, was made on that day, February 21, by Fr. Vicente Oliva, who had succeeded Fr. Sanchez in 1820. The first entry in the second book was made on the same day by Fr. Martin. The title page of this Second Book of Baptisms, which is of extraordinary size and of the cheapest quality of paper, reads as follows:

Viva Jesus, Maria, Joseph
In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Second Book

In which are made the entries of the Baptisms of this Mission of San Diego, belonging to the Apostolic College of the Propagation of the Faith for Missionaries of the Order of

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[1] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 113.

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Our Father Saint Francis of the Regular Observance of San Fernando, Mexico. The actual missionaries of said mission are Fr. Fernando Martin of the Province of St. Michael the Archangel in Old Castile, and Fr. Vicente Pasqual Oliva of the Province of Aragon. The beginning was made with this book on February 21, 1822. The last entry in the First Book is that of number 5,270.

On January 16, 1824, Fr. Oliva baptized at Santa Isabél eight male and ten female adult Indians, two of whom were from Aguas Calientes, which name occurs here for the first time. On this occasion mention is made also of Jacopin as lying in the district of Santa Isabel. The Indians would not wait till the missionary came to that station; they would bring their little ones down to the mission. Thus Fr. Oliva at the mission, on May 6, 1824, baptized seventeen male children from Santa Isabél; and Fr. Martin, on the next day, May 7, baptized fourteen female children from the same place; finally, Fr. Caballero, a Dominican from Lower California, assisted the overburdened Fathers to the extent that on May 14, he baptized eight adult Indians from Santa Isabél. These latter, it appears, had been made to wait until their instruction was completed.

Tia Juana, across the border, occurs for the first time on August 15, 1824. The person baptized there on this day was an adult Indian named Santiago, whom the missionary found in a dying condition. The place belonged to La Punta. An old map of Mexico [2] has Tiguana, not Tia Juana which may be a corruption of the former or perhaps a joke, Tia Juana meaning Aunt Jane.

Fr. Antonio Menéndez, O. P., of Mission San Vicente Ferrer, Lower California, appears for the first time in the register, by permit, on March 31, 1824. From about that period he acted as chaplain to the presidio.

During all these years and much later, the wholesale conversion of Indians in the district of Santa Isabél continued.

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[2] *Carta* (map) *Oro-Hidrografica de la Republica Mexicana,* por el Ingeniero Antonio Garcia Cubas, 2 edition, 1879.

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This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the missionaries had no presents to distribute among them. All the Indians came voluntarily, though they knew that they could expect nothing in the way of material gifts, and would have to bind themselves to refrain from many pleasures which they enjoyed in paganism but which could not be tolerated under the rule of the Cross. Thus Fr. Oliva at Santa Isabél chapel, on January 28, 1825, baptized twenty adult Indians, numbers 5,870-5,890.

On October 6, 1825, Fr. Martin at Santa Isabél baptized thirteen male Indians, numbers 5,955-5,967, of whom eleven were adults ranging from twenty-two to seventy-six years of age. Six were of more than seventy winters. On the same day, at another hour, Fr. Martin baptized eleven female adults. Three of these were between eighty and eighty-eight years of age; three betwen seventy and eighty; and three from sixty to seventy. One was thirty-eight, and another only twenty-six years old. On five other days to October 12, Fr. Martin, during this same visit, admitted eight more, two of whom were children under nine years of age. On October 6, 1828, the happy missionary could baptize a number of extraordinarily aged Indians, three men and three women. All save one were over sixty-eight years of age, one Angela by name had ninety-four to her credit, while another, Antonia by name, admitted that she was ninety-two years old. In the next month, on November 4 and 5, Fr. Martin regenerated in the waters of Baptism four wrinkled Indian women aged respectively ninety-six, eighty-nine, eighty-five, and eighty-seven years, and one girl of fourteen besides a child. Truly, Santa Isabél had become the consolation of the missionaries at a time when consolation was sorely needed.

From the time of the arrival of the first Mexican governor, Echeandia and his band, the term *padre no conocido—father unknown* appears frequently in connection with Baptisms administered at the presidio town of San Diego, which, it seems, had become a hotbed of immorality.

Yuma Indian children from the Colorado, ranging from five to ten years of age, were often presented for Baptism

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by the settlers at the presidio chapel. How they came by them is not clear. Perhaps, in the raids made on the Yumas, their parents had been killed or made captive. Settlers would sometimes adopt the children or hire them to take care of their own. For instance, Fr. Oliva, on December 8, 1829, writes that he had baptized two girls, five and six years old respectively, whose parents were Yuma pagans from the Colorado. It seems that Estudillo adopted them. Sometimes the candidates were old enough to decide for themselves. Thus a Yuma girl of twenty summers, the child of pagan parents, was baptized on October 21, 1835, and given the name Rosalia. Miss Apolinaria Lorenzana, of whom more at Mission San Juan Capistrano, was the worthy godmother. Not only Yuma girls, but also boys of that tribe figure in the register.

It is worthy of note that numerous converts from the sects found a place in the Register of Baptism. Many of these later became prominent in the history of the territory. All had to take a course of instruction, for no one could be admitted whose good faith was not apparent; and the old Spanish Fathers insisted on carrying out the regulations of the Church to the letter. The reader will not be displeased to find names here with the bearers of which he may have become acquainted in the course of years.

Here is a typical entry telling the mode of procedure in similar cases. Fr. Oliva makes this entry: "No. 6,099. On April 27, 1827, in the mission church of San Diego, I reconciled to our holy Mother the Church and baptized conditionally and solemnly, after he had been well instructed in the dogmas of our holy Religion, William Agalle, native of the city of Boston in the United States, of the Congregationalist sect; and after he had abjured all his errors, I absolved him of excommunication by permit from the Rev. Fr. Presidente, Narciso Durán. His sponsor was Manuel Dominguez, whom I reminded of his obligations etc."

Fr. Antonio Menéndez, O. P., the chaplain of the presidio, "reconciled to holy Mother Church and baptized, after

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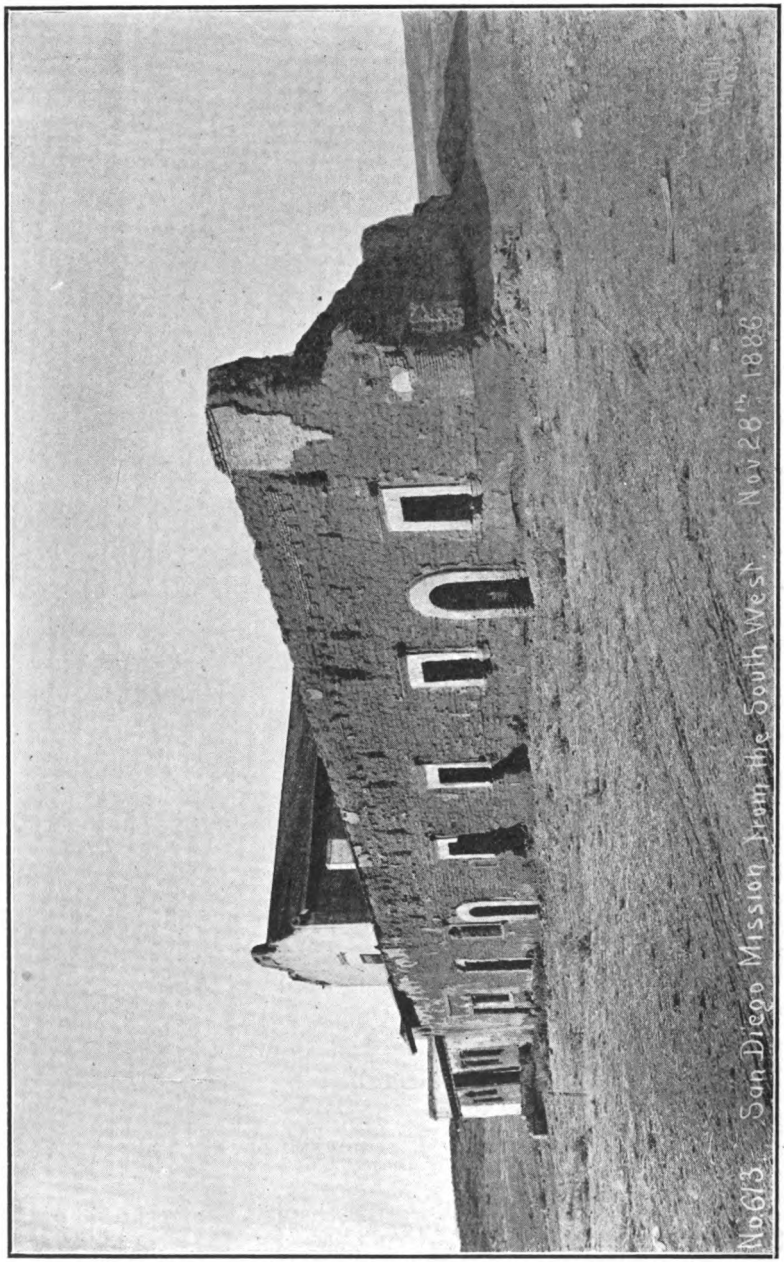

SAN DIEGO MISSION FROM THE SOUTHWEST—NOV. 28, 1886.

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adequate instruction, William G. Dana, adult, native of Boston, etc." The Baptism took place on July 29, 1827. This William Goodwin G. Dana became prominent in northern California as a successful merchant.

Similarly, Jonathan Temple, July 30, 1827, was reconciled etc., by Fr. Menéndez. The name Jonathan was changed to Juan. Temple also was a native of Boston.

Early in the same year, on April 8, Fr. Oliva baptized conditionally James Farias (?), native of Etembara (Edinburgh), capital of Scotland, of the Presbyterian denomination, son of Alexander Farias and Mary Donquen (Duncan?). The sponsor was José Daniel Rosas. No age was given.

It will be observed that the Fathers did not baptize every sectarian the same way. If it was proved that the Protestant minister had employed the words and the water correctly, then no pouring on of water could take place. Only some ceremonies were supplied; but generally no certain proof was offered. In that case the water was administered and the prescribed formula pronounced conditionally. A case in point happened at San Diego. José Manuel, infant son of José Lopez, appeared to be in the throes of death. A widow, Josefa Lopez, accordingly conferred private baptism, as they could not wait till the missionary arrived. When Fr. Commissary Prefect Vicente de Sarría arrived for the visitation on January 1, 1826, the boy, who had meanwhile recovered, was brought to the church. Fr. Sarría examined the matter closely and then refused to baptize the child even conditionally, because he was satisfied that Josefa had performed everything correctly. However, he supplied the anointing and the other ceremonies, which were duly recorded in the Baptismal Register by Fr. Martin.

A name which in the early days circulated much in California was that of Fitch. According to entry 6,323 made in the Baptismal Register by Fr. Antonio Menéndez, Henry Domingo Fitch, about thirty years of age, native of New Bedford, United States, son of Beriah Fitch and his wife Sarah, natives of the same town, was solemnly baptized in the presidio chapel on April 14, 1829, after the protestation

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of the Faith and other requisites. Ensign Domingo Carrillo of Santa Barbara was sponsor.

In September, 1835, Fathers Martin and Oliva together visited Santa Isabél, and in the chapel there Fr. Martin baptized six Indians, the sponsors being José Joaquin Ortega and Casimira Pico his wife. The reason for this visit to Santa Isabél is not known. Had it occurred in the beginning of the month, it would be very probable that they went there to celebrate the patronal feast; for on September 1, the Church celebrates the feast of Blessed Isabella, sister of St. Louis, king of Spain. Perhaps the civic celebration of the annual festival was for some reason postponed to a later date. This would point to Blessed Isabella as the Patron Saint of the mission station.

Fr. Oliva baptized at Santa Isabél for the last time, so far as is known, on July 17, 1836. After that the regular visits of the Fathers seem to have ceased, because in 1837 and 1838, Fr. Oliva visited San Luis Rey, which had no missionary, while good Fr. Martin officiated at San Diego. From the mission station as also from San Felipe a great many children and adults were in the course of time brought to the mission and baptized there.

In the third decade of the century, Yuma children are entered quite frequently in the baptismal register. As late as March 26, 1838, Fr. Oliva baptized a Yuma boy of five years, at the presidio, and at the mission a youth of eighteen and a maiden of nineteen, both Yuma Indians.

Converts from among the white immigrants still applied and after the usual preliminaries of instruction and abjuration they were admitted. At the presidio, for instance, Fr. Oliva on Christmas Day, 1835, baptized Thomas Rossell (Russell?), a native of Boston, son of Charles Rossell and Anna Monroe; likewise, Thomas Retinton (Redington?), native of Boston, son of John Retinton and Dorotea Debot (David?), aged thirty-two years.

On April 17, 1838, at the presidio chapel, Fr. Oliva baptized conditionally Joseph Julius, native of Plainfield in the United States, Protestant, single, son of Samuel

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Ames and Sarah Ames. The sponsors were José Antonio Estudillo and his wife Victoria Dominguez.

Fr. Francisco Sanchez, who had come that month with the first Bishop of California, on December 30, 1841, baptized "in the chapel of the port of San Diego," an Indian child of pagan parents.

From November, 1841, to November, 1842, Fr. Oliva had occasion to baptize eight Yuma girls, daughters of pagan parents. They ranged from five to fourteen years. They were doubtless children of slain or captured Yumas, who in the first half of the nineteenth century proved so hostile to the settlers and travelers that the United States Government found it necessary, in 1851, to establish Fort Yuma at the junction of the Colorado and Gila Rivers, just opposite Yuma City.

Additional converts were James Wemes, son of William Wemes and Anna Lambon, of London, England;

Maria Innocencia, of the port of Ahaju, Sandwich Island;

Ricardo, native of New London, United States; no other name was entered, but the parents were said to have been pagans, i.e. not baptized whites;

John Sprague Parker, thirty-three years of age, son of Jedediah Parker and Matilda Reynolds, his wife, all natives of Boston;

Albert Smith, aged twenty-seven, son of Henry Smith and his wife Hetty Marshall, all natives of New York.

Most of these converts, as well as those mentioned previously, owed their conversion, it seems, to their matrimonial aspirations. The dark-eyed Spanish damsels were wise. They believed in the indissolubility and sacredness of marriage. Hence they declined to join themselves to any man in matrimony who was of the opinion that he could leave his wife at will and take up with another woman. In such cases the Catholic party was at a disadvantage, inasmuch as she could not again marry as long as her husband lived, no matter how many "wives" he might take to himself in tandem polygamy. Therefore, the girls of California were wise enough to tell their suitors that they must be of the

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same belief with them on this and on all other points of Religion, else there was no hope of a matrimonial union. Usually, the men had no religious convictions, but only some hazy notions on the subject, and so they finally agreed to the conditions laid down by the girls. These marriages generally turned out happy unions blessed with a numerous progeny. This naturally introduces the Marriage Register.

As a rule, for Indians as well as for whites, investigations as to the antecedents of the parties and possible impediments against their marrying, preceded. Then followed instruction regarding religious obligations, which might last for weeks. Next the banns were published on three successive Sundays or holy days, whereupon both parties proceeded to the church to receive the Sacraments. Finally, the marriage was blessed by the priest, two witnesses being present. The names of all concerned including those of the parents of both as also the place of birth were entered in a separate book, called the Libro de Matrimonio or Marriage Register.

The names of the first couple married at San Diego are not known, owing to the destruction of the book in the conflagration of November, 1775; but Fr. Fuster writes that by the end of that year, 115 marriages had been blessed.

In the case of the girls, for their own sake and honor, they were made to live in a house set apart for them at the mission under the eyes of the wife of the corporal or of some other trusty woman, white or Indian. During the day they were at liberty to mingle with their people in the mission village, but at night they had to retire to their common apartment. If a young Indian brave desired to make himself and a girl happy, he would announce his intention to the missionary in charge. It may be supposed that he had already some secret understanding with the girl in the monjério or nunnery as it was inaptly called. The missionary may have observed it, too; and if the aspirant was found worthy of the girl, he could be sure that the missionary would encourage him. He would ask the love-sick youth for the name of the dusky damsel whom he had in mind and heart. Thereupon, both would approach her and ask

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her wishes on the subject. We may take it for granted that as a rule there would be no objection on her part. In that case the marriage would take place, after all the regulations had been complied with. Immediately after the ceremonies, the young couple were assigned a house, which was theirs ever after and where they lived together as happily as they might. In case the girl refused the offer, however, the young man would have to look for another on whom to pin his affections.

Indian youths seem to have known that girls educated at the mission would also make good wives. Instead of looking for a partner in the distant rancherías, they would try to interest one of the *muchachas de casa*—girls of the house or mission home. A regular matrimonial fever must have broken out in 1813. In that year, toward the end of December, Fr. José Sanchez joined eight Indian couples in holy wedlock. The girls were all *muchachas de la casa.* Similarly, in 1814 to 1815 and later, many marriages of this kind were blessed, much to the satisfaction of the missionaries.

The names of very prominent men figure in the Marriage Register. It would be too tedious to enumerate them all. Here is one entry of much interest. On October 14, 1810, Fr. Barona joined in holy matrimony Domingo Carrillo, son of the deceased Raimundo Carrillo, captain of the San Diego company, and of Doña Tomasa Lugo, his wife, natives of Sinaloa, to Maria Concepcion Pico, daughter of Joseph Maria Pico, sergeant in the San Diego company, and of Eustaquia Gutierrez, his wife. Joseph Maria Pico and Eustaquia Gutierrez were the parents of Pio Pico, the later governor of California.

Another marriage of note is No. 1,770 in the register. Fr. Fernando Martin, on March 6, 1832, all regulations having been observed including the banns, joined in matrimony Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, son of Ignacio Vallejo and Maria Antonia Lugo, natives of the Port of Monterey, to Francisca Carrillo, daughter of Joaquin Carrillo and Maria

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Ignacia Lopez, residents of San Diego. The witnesses were Juan Bandini and José Ortega.

The following entry also is of special interest. On February 15, 1827, Fr. Oliva joined in Christian marriage Augustin Vicente Zamorano, ensign of the engineer corps, native of San Augustin, Florida, son of Gonzalez Zamorano and Francisca del Corral his wife, to Maria Luisa Argüello, native of Santa Barbara, daughter of Santiago Argüello, ensign in the cavalry, and Maria del Pilár Ortega his wife. The witnesses were José M. Echeandia, governor of California, and Romualdo Pacheco, sub-lieutenant.

The Death Register has already been noted in the beginning, when the books were arranged by Fr. Serra. The cemetery at all missions invariably adjoined the church building, on one side or the other. At Mission San Diego, it occupied the ground to a width of ten varas (about thirty feet) the whole length of the church and vestry on the left side as one enters the church. As already said somewhere, Fr. Lasuén thus described the location in his Report of May 10, 1783: "The Cemetery lies on the north side the whole length of the church and vestry, and is ten varas wide." Subsequent church buildings were erected, but on the same site, so that the cemetery was not moved. At all events, something quite unusual, with the year 1805, Fr. Sanchez begins to employ the remark in his entries "in the cemetery next to the church of the Mission." Fr. Martin does the same, beginning with the year 1813.

The entries always state, as is prescribed, whether the deceased had received the Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, or, if not all, which of them.

Important lessons could be drawn and long stories told from the Register of the Dead. But that is foreign to our purpose, which is only to furnish every obtainable information regarding the Mission and the persons connected with it. A few notes will not be amiss, however, as they contain much that is of interest and that throws light on the situation. Fr. Juan Mariner, on January 9, 1792, gave ecclesiastical

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burial to Maria Francisca, a neophyte, who had been married to Felix Macoon, likewise a neophyte of the mission. While alone and asleep, her house took fire which when detected had advanced so far that it was impossible to save the poor creature.

Fr. Fernando Martin, on January 28, 1814, gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of Tiburcio Cuilp, widower of Juliana, deceased. He had been executed that very day at nine o'clock, having been assisted in death as our Mother the Church demands and having received the holy Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist. Many Indians from this and the neighboring missions attended the execution, likewise many white people." The crime for which the unhappy man was put to death is not stated in the entry.

With this year, 1814, the burials of white people begin to be entered separately. From the beginning of the presidio to the end of that year, seventy-nine burials took place. This does not include those who had died of the scurvy between the years 1769 and 1770.

On October 30, 1824, an execution took place at eleven o'clock, a. m. The body of the victim, Juan Bautista Guaycupuchul, was given ecclesiastical burial by Fr. Oliva at the presidio, many Indians of the mission and a crowd of white settlers being present.

On April 6, 1826, Fr. Martin buried five soldiers who had been killed by the Colorado River Indians; and on April 23, Vicente Mayalpalp, married, was executed for having been implicated in the murder.

"I was informed," writes Fr. Martin in entry No. 4,030, June 20, 1829, "that a woman called Calista Gaesepall, married to Calisto Cuachelac of Santa Isabél, had died. The body is not interred in consecrated ground because she went away without the knowledge of the Missionary Fathers; and when advised of her death, after three days, the pagans of her ranchería had already buried her; but they placed a cross on the grave in order to indicate the spot in case the body was to be removed for ecclesiastical burial."

The last entry in the First Book of Burials was number

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4,156, under date of June 14, 1831, Fr. Martin officiating. "The second book," says Savage, Bancroft's agent, "is not in the parish church, and must be lost. Father Ubach showed me another record book of the parish (small quarto copy book form in boards) which had been missing some time, and which he found in possession of some children playing with it in the street. North San Diego, January 19th, 1878. Thomas Savage." This was probably the date when Savage closed his work of transcribing, in the service of Bancroft. The writer went through the same task twenty-six years later and found the situation the same. Hence we do not find the entry for Fr. Fernando Martin's death and burial, since he passed away at the mission on October 19, 1838. His remains were doubtless buried within the church walls of the mission.

The little book mentioned by Savage was arranged for entries of burials by the Rev. J. Chrisostom Holbein, of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Missionary Apostolic, on November 9, 1849. He used also a similar little book for the Baptisms. The first Baptism entered here is dated July 24, 1849. Rev. Jayme Vila began the Third Book of Baptisms in folio form on October 26, 1856.

The Marriage Register ran till long after the mission period. Fr. Oliva's last entry in this book is dated April 30, 1846. The recipients of the Sacrament were three Indian couples, under numbers 2,049, 2,050, and 2,051. They were married at the mission church.

The following note is found in the small register begun by Father Holbein: "On December 28, 1853, I took the remains of the three Franciscan missionaries, whose names are not known with certainty, buried in the presbytery of the church of the Mission of San Diego, converted into a military barracks for the American soldiers. I placed the bones of the said Fathers in one and the same chest and gave ecclesiastical burial on the same day in the cemetery of the said mission. In witness whereof I signed this on the same day, month, and year.—J. Chris. Holbein, Mis. Ap."

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The remains in question were doubtless those of Fathers Lázaro, Panto, and Martin; for the remains of Fathers Jaume, Figuer, and Mariner had already been placed in a single tomb in the church, though in separate coffins, not in the sanctuary but between the main altar and the side altar.

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CHAPTER XV.

Smythe's Honest Admission.—Major McLaughlin's Statement.—Mechanical Arts at the Mission.—Diversions.—Singing.—Music.—Agriculture.—Table.—The Dam.—The Aqueduct.—Live Stock.—Exaggerations.—Table.—Spiritual Results.—Table.—Bartlett's Description of Mission.—United States Troops Quartered at Mission.—Soledad.—San Pasqual.—Ford's Description.—Restoration Plans.—The Mission Bells.—What of the Neophytes?—The Missionaries.—Their Aims and Vicissitudes.—End.

"WHAT shall be said of the missionary achievements?" Smythe asks; and forthwith he essays to answer the question and in so doing forgets all his prejudices, thinks logically, and is, therefore, at his best. "For the most part," he writes, "the answer to this question depends upon the individual point of view. No mere material conquest is to be compared with the salvation of immortal souls. The Mission Fathers brought thousands to the foot of the Cross and persuaded them to live in accordance with religious ways. Those who believe that these thousands of souls would otherwise have been lost justly place the missionary achievement above the most enduring things done by the soldier, the law-giver, or the founder of institutions. Those who accept distinctly modern views of religion may hold more lightly the purely spiritual conquest accomplished by Junípero Serra and his fellow priests, yet even such must credit them with the noblest aspirations and must concede that the Indian population gained much in simple morality from the missionary teachings. Nor has this gain been wholly lost, even after Father Serra has slept more than one hundred and twenty years in his grave at Monterey. The Indian was unquestionably elevated by his spiritual experience and by his manual training, and, dubious as his condition seems to-day, is still a better man because the Mission once flourished under the sunny skies of San Diego." [1]

[1] Smythe, *History of San Diego*, pp. 73-75.

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This fair conclusion of Smythe is borne out by Major James McLaughlin, for many years United States Indian Agent in Dakota and later for a score of years United States Indian Inspector. One would suppose him to be partial to Indians elsewhere; but here is what he says, and from a personal talk with him the writer knows that he had in mind especially the Indians of the Mesa Grande region in San Diego County, who are descendants of the neophytes of Mission San Diego. "It is an odd condition that the Pacific States Indians, who were by no means the equals of the plains Indians physically and mentally in their native state, have progressed beyond their better-developed brethren in the civilized arts. . . They are farther advanced than the Indians of whom much more might have been expected. Many of them, though only a couple of generations removed from a people living on roots and fish, to whom even reptiles were not unfamiliar articles of diet, have acquired all the better habits of the whites, and the social condition is not unfrequently rather better than that of the people among whom they live and who boast European blood." [2]

Mechanical arts could not be so extensively practiced at Mission San Diego as at the other mission establishments. The reason is because the neophytes, if we except the girls, the invalids, and the aged, continued to live in their rancherías, and by turns stayed for only two weeks at the mission. Nevertheless, at the mission enough cloth was woven and enough clothing manufactured to satisfy the wants of the neophytes. In addition, after the year 1811, the Indians here had to help clothe and feed the soldiers and their families. Since the Mexican Government demanded no reports on what the mission shops produced, it is impossible even to estimate the value and the nature of the productions of this particular mission. It is enough to state, however, that everything used and consumed by the Indians and the missionaries was manufactured or raised by them

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[2] McLaughlin, *My Friend, the Indian*, pp. 312-313.

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MATERIAL RESULTS OF MISSION SAN DIEGO—AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

Year	Wheat		Barley		Corn		Beans		Peas		Lentils		Garbanzos		Habas		TOTAL			
																	Fanegas		Bushels	
	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.
1774	7	30	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	30	15	50
1775	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1776	10	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	.....	18	.....
1777	13	.....	½	.....	½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14	.....	23	.....
1778	12½	44	⅔	13	1/6	.....	¼	.....	1/12	.....	1/12	.....	1/12	.....	.....	.....	13	57	21	88
1779	12	350	4	114	3	80	½	2	1	3	.....	.....	1/6	½	.....	.....	21	550	35	917
1780	17	160	11	44	2⅓	19	.....	.....	1	⅓	1	1/24	¼	1¼	.....	.....	33	325	55	542
1781	24	800	20	700	3	74	½	2	⅔	2	.....	.....	¼	1	.....	.....	49	1579	82	2632
1782	25½	.....	18½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	½	.....	.....	.....	1/6	.....	.....	.....	45	.....	75	.....
1783	28	200	36¼	84½	2	.....	1	.....	2½	.....	.....	.....	2½	1⅓	.....	.....	72	286	120	477
1784	.....	850	.....	860	.....	150	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1875	.....	3125
1785	43	367	13	70	1/6	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1½	.....	.....	.....	60	437	100	718
1786	46	808	20	305	2	.....	4	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	72	1116	120	1860
1787	23	648	18	770	⅓	.....	⅓	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	42	1424	70	2373
1788	62	420	20	127	4	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	86	557	143	928
1789	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1790	34	203	12½	900	1½	50	5	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	63	1159	105	1932
1791	60	3021	16	1437	⅔	52	2	50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	79	4560	132	7610
1792	60	3503	30	1830	½	72	3½	233	.....	.....	1/12	.....	.....	.....	1½	3½	95	5641	158	9402
1793	77	4070	30	1983	½	86	2½	166	1/12	2	1	2¾	1/12	1⅓	¼	8	111	6319	185	10532
1794	54	1050	21	230	1½	1½	2	2	1/24	.....	1/24	.....	1/6	.....	¼	.....	79	1283	130	2138
1795	62	340	20	30	1/6	.....	1½	.....	1/12	.....	1/12	.....	¼	.....	1/12	.....	84	370	140	618
1796	36	1450	20	340	1/6	25	3	37	1/24	1/6	1/24	2	1/6	7	¼	½	60	1862	100	3133
1797	66	2554	24	603	1/6	10	3	30	1/6	.....	1/24	2	1/6	¼	¼	.....	94	3199	157	5332
1798	71	1022	26	525	3	40	4	8	1/12	.....	.....	.....	¼	.....	½	.....	105	1595	175	2658
1799	101	4176	25	1872	4	.....	4	110	1/6	8	1/24	3	1/6	2	⅔	15	135	6186	242	10310
1800	160	1060	50	600	.....	.....	6	60	1/6	3	¼	3	1/6	2	5/6	15	217	1743	362	2905
1801	150	700	38	400	.....	.....	6	60	¼	4	.....	.....	¼	2	1/6	1	194	1167	323	1945
1802	133	680	38	370	.....	.....	5	28	¼	8	1/24	1	¼	1½	1/6	7	177	1095	295	1835
1803	132	600	33	100	.....	.....	4	7	¼	¼	.....	.....	¼	1	½	4	170	712	283	1183
1804	143	700	24	200	6	400	7	.....	⅓	10	.....	.....	⅓	2	⅓	12	181	1324	302	2207
1805	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1806	140	1428	66	1250	4	158	5	15	½	8	.....	.....	⅔	2	⅔	8	217	2869	362	4782
1807	148	800	99	900	3	70	3	16	⅓	8	.....	.....	⅓	3	½	4	254	1801	422	3002
1808	153	1800	100	1700	3	70	4	37	⅓	18	.....	.....	½	7	½	4	261	3636	435	6060
1809	155	193	98	.....	13	507	3½	62	¾	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	½	.....	258	755	430	1258

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MATERIAL RESULTS OF MISSION SAN DIEGO—AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS—(Continued)

Year	Wheat		Barley		Corn		Beans		Peas		Lentils		Garbanzos		Habas		TOTAL			
																	Fanegas		Bushels	
	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.
1810	160	200	103	200	8	600	3	30	⅓	.....	1/12	.....	⅓	.....	½	.....	275	1030	458	1717
1811	168	2800	138	2600	7	680	7	46	1/6	1	.....	.....	½	6	1/6	1	313	6134	522	10223
1812	216	2168	125	1700	20	500	11	240	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	3	.....	.....	374	4611	623	7683
1813	187	300	119	350	5	400	7	110	½	1/6	.....	.....	1	5	.....	.....	319	1165	532	1925
1814	228	1800	115	2000	6	320	6	160	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	355	4280	592	7127
1815	247	1700	161	800	8	250	5	34	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	421	2784	702	4640
1816	250	2800	134	1800	6	600	7	68	.....	.....	1/24	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	397	5276	662	8793
1817	250	3040	280	3400	9	1156	9	215	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	548	5811	913	9685
1818	260	4124	190	3510	10	1056	10	120	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	470	8810	782	14683
1819	271	2770	190	1300	12	1300	12	130	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	485	5500	808	9167
1820	311	1720	280	800	14	1100	10	28	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	615	3648	1025	6080
1821	320	7080	304	4621	18	2120	19	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	661	13921	1102	23202
1822	200	2620	45	940	10	340	8	140	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	263	4040	438	6733
1823	320	1320	230	364	12	140	11	40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	573	1864	955	3107
1824	350	2700	250	1370	8	320	7	55	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	615	4445	1025	7412
1825	429	2623	150	1120	9	600	17	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	605	4403	1008	7338
1826	425	1243	173	824	9	250	7	56	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	614	2373	1023	3955
1827	418	2218	360	1036	9	250	8	66	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	795	3570	1325	5950
1828	229	2120	189	1800	11	342	9	125	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	438	4387	730	7312
1829	220	854	156	156	12	524	9	98	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	397	1632	662	2720
1830	271	2826	124	856	10	516	8	86	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	413	4284	688	7140
1831	324	2946	152	1120	9	420	9	80	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	494	4566	823	7610
1832	260	1500	150	650	8	25	9	42	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	427	2217	710	3695

Note. A fanéga is equal to 100 lbs.
Plant. means fanégas planted or sown.
Harv. means fanégas harvested.

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under the supervision of the Fathers. Hence there were masons, brick and tile makers, bricklayers, adobe makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, saddlers and harness makers, spinners, weavers, tailors, hatters, shoemakers, butchers, tallow melters, soap makers, tanners, candle makers, cooks, and so on. The women ground the corn or wheat into flour after the fashion of the times when mills not yet existed, and they were engaged also at other work suitable to their sex. For details on this point and on the entire mission routine, which was uniform at all the missions, we must refer the reader to the second volume of *Missions and Missionaries of California* (pp. 246-266).

It was not, of course, all work nor all prayer that prevailed at the missions; otherwise, few converts would have been made and less retained. At given times, diversions of every kind were indulged in, which the reader will find minutely described in the afore-mentioned volume (pp. 248-256; 564-567). Singing especially was diligently cultivated by both sexes, though only male Indians, trained from boyhood. were permitted to sing the liturgical parts of divine services.[3] Apart from this, however, all were at liberty to sing the Latin and Spanish hymns either in or outside the church.[4]

Agricultural products had to be reported annually.[5] Of this department of mission activity, therefore, we have full and detailed accounts down to the year 1832 inclusive. The Franciscans established their missions in order to transform indolent savages into self-supporting and law-abiding subjects of the State. How to maintain themselves was, therefore, next to religious knowledge, the chief practical education the Indians had to acquire, and this the missionaries who were men of common sense imparted gently but firmly. Book-learning would have been of no use whatever to the neophytes, had they not first learned the lessons of industry.

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[3] See specimen of Latin Church music in *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, p. 257.

[4] See accompanying specimen of a children's hymn.

[5] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii for facsimile.

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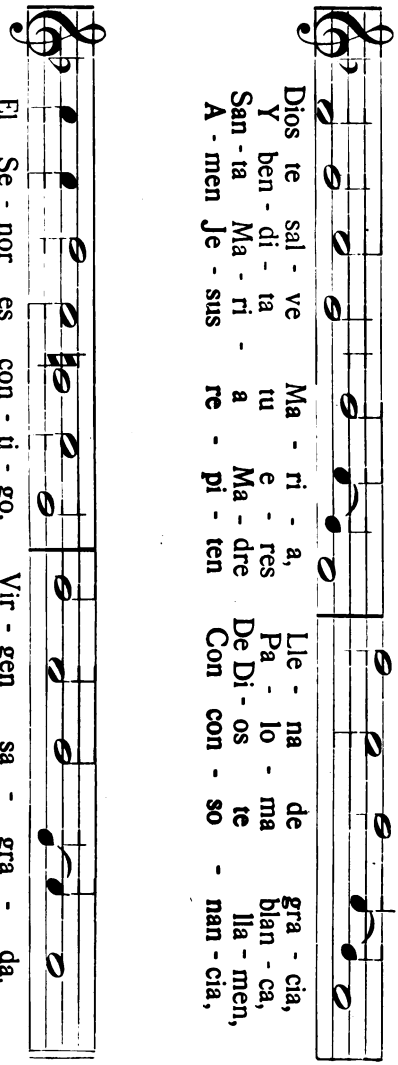

SPANISH HYMN, ESPECIALLY FOR CHILDREN.

Agriculture was accordingly the chief department of mission activity as far as material matters were concerned. It was indeed beset with many difficulties. The missionaries coming generally from cultured families were men of learning and discipline, whose prime duty it was to meditate on

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the Gospel and to convey its principles and obligations to the people. Yet here in California they were among a nation whose stomachs had to be filled before mind and heart would hearken to the truths of Christianity. The land had to furnish the food; wherefore the Indians had to learn how to plant and raise what would satisfy their ever clamoring hunger. Heretofore the natives had raised absolutely nothing. Hence the missionaries were constrained to teach farming as a necessary preliminary for the acceptance of the Gospel. And for the love of God they bowed to necessity and became farmers. Frequently, although the will was there, the way was not so easy. Various obstacles had to be encountered and surmounted. In a primitive country, in primitive times, "the methods and implements," as Smythe notes, "were crude. The plows were made of the fork of a tree shod with a flat piece of iron. Grain was cut with a short sickle, and horses threshed it with their hoofs."[6] Climatic conditions and the possibilities of the soil had to be studied. Only experience could teach the proper method of procedure. There was little good soil near the mission. In spots among the mountains better land was discovered; but as rain was not frequent, the crops would not mature; while, if the seed was sown in the lowland, floods often carried away everything. Then a general drought would set in, and the Indians had to be permitted to go out as of yore on a hunt for acorns or game. Truly, the Fathers had a hard time of it, dependent on fickle weather, fickle Indians, and fickle crops. But they persisted, and in the end their labors were crowned with remarkable success.

As seasonable rainfall could not be depended upon and as the river running by the mission was most of the time without water, the Fathers constructed a dam of solid stone and thirteen feet thick across the Rio San Diego, about three or more miles above the mission. This dam was coated with cement that became as hard as stone. In the center was a

[6] Smythe, *History of San Diego*, p. 100.

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MATERIAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN DIEGO—LIVE STOCK.

Year	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs	Horses	Mules	Total
1773	40	74	55	19	29	28	245
1774	54	104	61	27	35	25	306
1775	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1776	102	204	100	14	54	24	498
1777	138	244	156	14	94	19	665
1778	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1779	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1780	250	630	300	26	135	26	1367
1781	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1782	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1783	415	300	000	000	269	15	999
1784	500	1100	558	000	265	39	2462
1785	558	727	316	000	262	35	1898
1786	605	936	315	000	278	34	2168
1787	708	986	378	000	284	32	2388
1788	1003	1000	634	000	339	29	3005
1789	.....	.....	805	.....	.....	.....	805
1790	1306	1583	517	16	437	33	3892
1791	2603	2136	763	19	494	38	6053
1792	2503	2426	647	24	568	41	6209
1793	3325	3114	458	18	592	43	7550
1794	3516	2600	380	20	662	31	7209
1795	3618	2390	403	32	761	51	7255
1796	3220	2713	203	24	544	37	6741
1797	5000	4020	000	30	693	69	9812
1798	5160	4873	000	26	859	80	10998
1799	5836	5080	000	23	790	92	11821
1800	6000	6000	000	28	877	100	13005
1801	6050	6020	21	7	850	60	13008
1802	6050	6000	000	20	900	66	13036
1803	5000	5000	000	15	830	45	10890
1804	4387	5408	000	20	784	52	10651
1805	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1806	4458	5640	000	18	819	63	10998
1807	4538	6760	000	16	640	74	12028
1808	4362	9260	000	18	700	91	14431
1809	3000	8740	000	8	478	84	12310
1810	3000	9625	100	15	620	100	13460
1811	2900	9132	140	12	312	94	12590
1812	3128	9344	200	15	352	106	13145
1813	3210	9260	170	16	350	88	13174
1814	3560	9668	212	50	450	78	14018
1815	4234	10400	320	120	517	84	15675
1816	3700	10200	250	100	561	89	14900
1817	4816	12570	325	36	760	88	18595
1818	6224	14674	364	72	850	112	22296
1819	7111	16711	430	86	830	150	25318
1820	8120	14512	320	76	870	172	24070
1821	8436	17000	500	86	1060	234	27316
1822	9245	19000	400	65	1174	295	30179
1823	8120	18024	200	52	969	275	27640
1824	8536	19000	235	40	845	330	28986
1825	8120	19420	184	000	565	115	28404
1826	8620	18620	262	54	830	122	28508
1827	9120	16284	234	72	987	136	26833
1828	8136	16566	320	000	1063	154	26239
1829	8200	15120	258	000	917	130	24625
1830	7630	16120	320	000	1050	142	25262
1831	6220	17624	325	000	1196	132	25497
1832	4500	13250	150	000	220	80	18200
1833	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1834	3120	8132	84	000	213	000	11549
1842	20	200	000	000	100	000	320

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SPIRITUAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN DIEGO

Year	Baptisms		Marriages		Deaths		Confessions	Communions	Confirmations	Viaticum	Neophytes		Total Number of Neophytes at Mission
	Indian	White	Indian	White	Indian	White					Male	Female	
1771	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1772	53	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1773	89	.....	12	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1774	116	.....	19	.....	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	97
1775	431	.....	115	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1776	461	.....	121	.....	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1777	591	.....	154	.....	34	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1778	679	.....	168	.....	47	.....	.....	.....	610	.....	.....	.....	.....
1779	758	.....	198	.....	102	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1780	818	.....	205	.....	132	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1781	834	.....	217	.....	153	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1782	946	.....	230	.....	193	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1783	996	.....	247	.....	234	.....	.....	.....	233	.....	.....	.....	740
1784	1075	.....	264	.....	266	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	786
1785	1174	.....	287	.....	307	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	838
1786	1229	.....	294	.....	339	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	890
1787	1305	.....	308	.....	394	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	914
1788	1354	.....	317	.....	434	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	923
1789	1409	.....	323	.....	472	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	940
1790	1452	.....	335	.....	522	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	933
1791	1511	.....	350	.....	557	.....	.....	.....	321	.....	.....	.....	833
1792	1562	.....	365	.....	620	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	862
1793	1625	.....	385	.....	669	.....	.....	.....	102	.....	.....	.....	869
1794	1692	.....	393	.....	712	.....	.....	.....	58	.....	.....	.....	879
1795	1746	.....	402	.....	757	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	887
1796	1855	.....	417	.....	840	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	412	496	908
1797	2422	.....	444	.....	904	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1405
1798	2615	.....	458	.....	976	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	719	807	1526
1799	2704	.....	602	.....	1048	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	663	742	1405
1800	2772	4	634	14	1150	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	717	794	1511
1801	2859	.....	668	.....	1168	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1538
1802	2953	19	699	20	1243	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	737	822	1559
1803	3029	.....	731	.....	1303	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1587
1804	3167	37	772	25	1423	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	786	803	1589
1805	3255	.....	806	47	1508	53	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1806	3319	.....	858	52	1675	88	.....	.....	.....	.....	745	741	1486
1807	3438	50	896	55	1752	91	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1511
1808	3590	55	930	57	1826	100	266	48	.....	.....	805	781	1586
1809	3650	.....	960	59	1901	.....	550	68	.....	.....	.....	.....	1560
1810	3795	85	1014	62	1979	108	463	57	.....	.....	840	771	1611
1811	3870	94	1032	.....	2080	115	282	86	.....	.....	826	757	1583
1812	4018	116	1060	65	2192	127	304	100	.....	.....	846	770	1616
1813	4083	132	1098	.....	2315	132	320	150	.....	.....	810	727	1537
1814	4161	147	1131	66	2449	140	420	167	.....	2	724	704	1428
1815	4249	165	1154	67	2565	143	535	272	.....	0	706	680	1386
1816	4337	175	1184	71	2677	149	554	229	.....	0	697	660	1357
1817	4532	190	1243	75	2786	151	579	216	.....	9	748	682	1430
1818	4749	205	1296	76	2860	.....	720	180	.....	12	803	755	1558
1819	4887	215	1332	.....	2924	154	750	150	.....	4	830	595	1425
1820	5129	230	1382	.....	3018	164	753	171	.....	5	832	735	1567
1821	5260	241	1413	84	3090	171	672	119	.....	2	901	721	1622
1822	5452	284	1460	87	3196	176	820	140	.....	2	948	749	1697
1823	5659	302	1517	89	3329	181	649	150	.....	2	978	780	1758
1824	5860	309	1558	91	3441	.....	667	240	.....	1	1027	802	1829
1825	5993	325	1607	94	3627	188	530	257	.....	2	944	784	1728
1826	6078	342	1626	99	3706	200	277	161	.....	2	955	749	1704
1827	6158	361	1647	102	3854	220	462	241	.....	2	860	770	1630
1828	6243	381	1685	103	3965	227	456	332	.....	0	910	666	1576
1829	6323	401	1717	113	4051	234	.....	.....	.....	0	865	689	1554
1830	6396	421	1752	116	4123	243	116	64	.....	0	917	627	1544
1831	6461	449	1767	119	4210	255	116	58	.....	1	894	612	1506

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SPIRITUAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN DIEGO—(Continued).

Year	Baptisms		Marriages		Deaths		Confessions	Communions	Confirmations	Viaticum	Neophytes		Total Number of Neophytes at Mission
	Indian	White	Indian	White	Indian	White					Male	Female	
1832	6522	466	1794	126	4322	279	86	54	55	0	862	593	1455
1833	6578	694	1837	127	.....	.....	.....	.....	302	.....	.....	.....	.....
1834	6638	714	1880	134	4497	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1382
1835	6709	732	1903	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1836	6759	.....	1929	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1837	6866	.....	1959	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1838	6906	.....	1970	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1839	6940	.....	1986	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1840	6970	.....	2000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1841	6991	.....	2011	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	124	.....	.....	.....	.....
1842	7016	.....	2016	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1843	7046	.....	2028	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1844	7076	.....	2040	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1845	7104	.....	2044	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1846	7126	.....	2051	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Note.—The General Reports of the Mission Fathers included the Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, and Confirmations of white people. We have placed the whites in separate columns, but they must be deducted from the numbers in the Indian columns to obtain the exact number of Indian entries.

gateway twelve feet high and lined with brick. The structure was still standing in 1904, when the writer examined it. "From this dam," Bancroft says, "an aqueduct constructed of tiles, resting on cobblestones in cement, and carrying a stream one foot deep and two feet wide to the mission lands, was built through a precipitous gorge, impassable on horseback. The aqueduct often crossed gulches from fifteen to twenty feet wide and deep, and was so strong that in places it supported itself after the foundations were removed."[7] By dint of such herculean efforts and patience the missionaries succeeded in feeding their dusky charges as well as the live stock which afforded fleshmeat for food, tallow for candles and soap, and hides for occasional export, which in turn supplied what the mission could not produce, such as chocolate, sugar, church goods, implements, and ironware. The accompanying table tells the story in detail. It will, no

[7] Bancroft, *History*, vol. ii, p. 106.

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doubt, prove of interest to the farmer, while it at the same time relieves the writer of the necessity of explaining.

Live stock was the other chief department of mission industry. A great many Indians had to be engaged to care for the animals belonging to the mission, because the pastures were at a distance and in widely separate valleys. Also the flocks had to be guarded against wild beasts that not unfrequently played havoc with the cattle and especially with the sheep. Other enemies were the savages who roved in the regions east of the mission, notably the Yumas, and who were often aided by deserters from the mission. This was particularly the case after the coming of Echeandia, who imbued the natives with foolish ideas of liberty and encouraged them to free themselves from the rule of the missionaries. Thus cattle and horses were driven away in large numbers and slaughtered for food. As long as the Fathers were in control, to the year 1834, the herds and flocks were kept together fairly well; but when the missions had to be turned over to secular administrators, it required only a short time to reduce the thousands of animals to a few hundred and finally to a few dozen. But that sad story has already been told. The accompanying table compiled from the official reports explains itself and at the same time sets aright some preposterous figures adduced by modern writers on California history. For instance, Henry Chapman Ford, a very well-meaning artist and writer, says in the description of his etchings, "The wealth accumulated by the Missions was enormous, and, at the height of their prosperity, their annual income was $3,000,000. The cattle at this period numbered 1,200,000." How many of these Ford credits to Mission San Diego does not appear. He doubtless figured that the cattle were sold at $3.00 per head, and so arrived at the preposterous figure $3,000,000. The fact is, however, that his estimate of the number of cattle is much too high. He would have been closer to the truth if he had canceled the one million and then deducted 20,000 from the remaining 200,000. For, as the table shows, the missions together, in no year, possessed more than 180,000 head in round numbers;

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neither was there a regular sale for them at even $2.00 a head. What might have been profit after 1820 and even earlier had mostly to be sacrificed for the maintenance of the soldiers and their families. But that story also has been told.

The chief aim of the missionaries and the principal object of the mission was not filling barns and increasing live stock. The Fathers had come to gather into the fold of Christ immortal souls, as Smythe correctly indicates. Everything else was but of secondary importance, and indeed of no importance at all to the Franciscan friars, save as a means to their chief aim, the salvation of souls. Notwithstanding so many adverse circumstances, in this they were successful. All the natives from the coast to the sierras around Santa Isabél were eventually won for Christ, and of all the Indians still living in San Diego County, those who survived the eviction from the mission and its stations through the greed of unscrupulous fortune hunters, have generally speaking themselves or their descendants remained not only the most numerous but also the most religious and moral. The accompanying table will show for each year with what success the Fathers labored.

With regard to the mission buildings, the accompanying ground plan will enlighten the reader as to their extent. Writing in May, 1852, John Russell Bartlett thus describes them as they appeared at his time: "The buildings, which are of adobe, are not extensive, but are in good preservation. They possess more of an Oriental appearance than any other establishment. There was formerly a large vineyard and orchard, containing figs, peaches, etc., a portion of which is still in existence. The place is celebrated also for a flourishing orchard of olive tress, which still remains, yielding a great abundance of olives, the excellence of which we have an opportunity of tasting on our homeward journey. The mission is at present occupied by United States troops, under the command of Colonel J. B. Magruder, and in consequence is kept in good repair." [8]

[8] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative,* vol. ii, p. 104.

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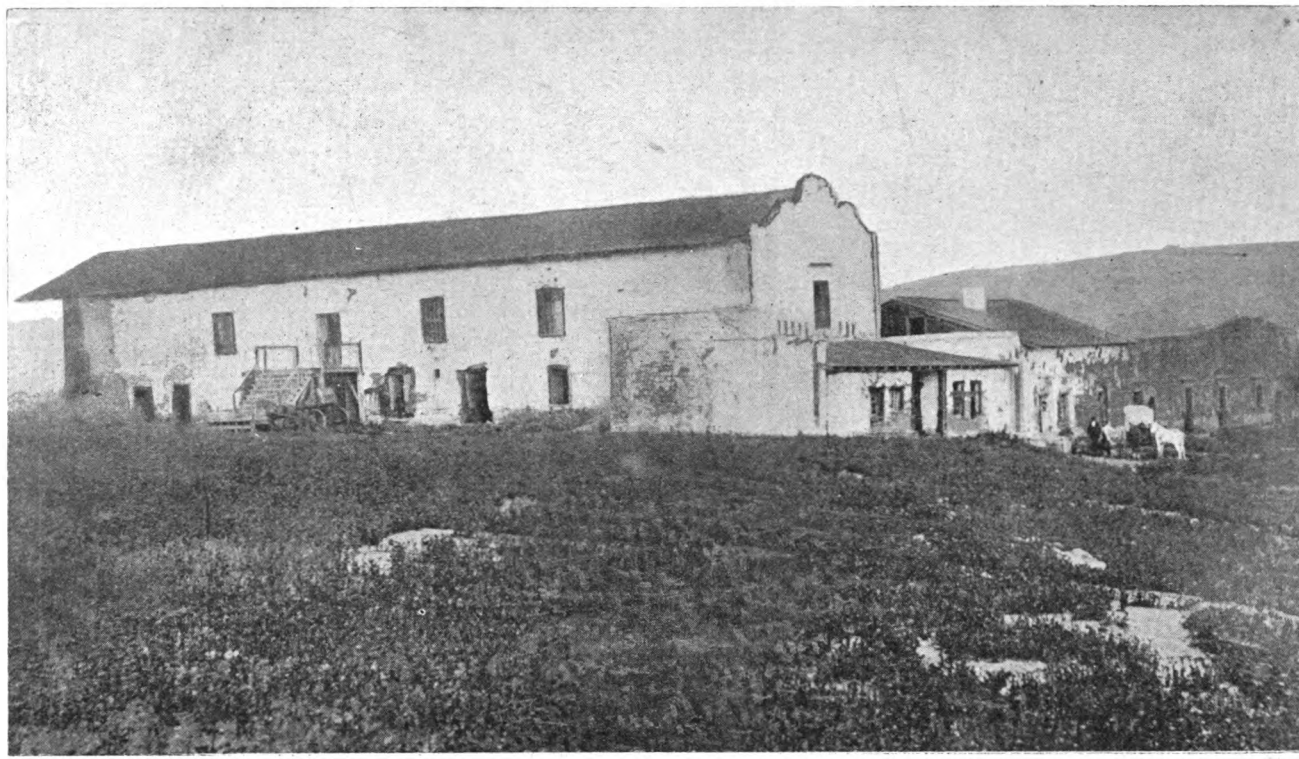

THE MISSION CHURCH OCCUPIED BY U. S. TROOPS.

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From the official reports of the U. S. War Department we learn that Mission San Diego in November, 1853, was occupied by two companies of artillery composed of one captain (H. S. Burton), one assistant surgeon, one first lieutenant, and fifty-five enlisted men.

In November, 1855, one company of artillery was quartered there. It consisted of one captain (H. S. Burton), one assistant surgeon, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, and sixty-nine men.

On November 28, 1857, the report has one company of artillery and one company of cavalry, composed of Major G. A. H. Blake, one surgeon, one captain, two first and two second lieutenants, and 108 men.

The report for 1858-1859 could not be secured. It is most probable that the troops were withdrawn in 1858 or early in 1859. The report of November 28, 1860, makes no mention of troops at Mission San Diego. On October 17, 1861, Lieutenant F. H. Bates is reported as stationed at *New San Diego* with a company of the Fourth Infantry. Doubtless it was when the troops occupied the Mission that the second floor was put in the church edifice as shown on the engraving made from a Daguerreotype of that period.

Bartlett mentions also that "ten miles from San Diego (which would be four or five miles from the mission) is Soledad Hill, which is very steep and difficult to pass," The Ranchería of Soledad, frequently noted in the Baptismal Register, probably lay in its vicinity. Furthermore, Bartlett speaks of San Pasqual, thirty-six miles from San Diego, as the scene of an engagement between United States soldiers and Californians.[9]

Writing thirty years later, in 1883, Henry Chapman Ford says of Mission San Diego: "But little is left of the former buildings, except a portion of the church, and the adjacent dormitories. The chapel is used as a stable; several colonies of wild bees have taken possession of the cavities

[9] A description of this will be found in *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 573-574.

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over the lintels of the doors; and a family of owls startle the visitor with their screams as he intrudes on their solitude. At one time the Mission was used as a barracks, and the irreverent soldiers did much to hasten its ruin. They also cut down and used for fuel a portion of the fine orchard. There still remain, however, many old olive, pear, and fig trees, and a few of the date palms planted by the Fathers. From these were taken the cuttings with which originated most of the olive orchards of California."

Less than a decade later, in 1891, a movement was made for restoring parts of the mission at least. The *San Diego Sun* of October 16, for instance, gave expression to the wish that something be done as follows: "The restoration of the Old Mission, the first Christian outpost in California proper, is much to be desired. It is a cheerful augury that Father Ubach is interested in such a plan and will devote his energy and zeal to its success. Enough remains of the building to give its restoration the significance of repairs only, thus avoiding a substitute structure and a diminished popular and historical interest in it."

1891 On the day before, October 15, the same paper, *San Diego Sun,* brought this bit of news: "The six mission bells, which were cast at San Blas in 1791 and 1802, will be sent to Baltimore to be recast into two bells, which will be used in the Indian school buildings. Two of the bells hung for years behind the Old Town chapel, and another one is at the military barracks, whither it was conveyed when the troops abandoned their original quarters in the Old Mission."

A week later, on October 22, the *San Diego Union* was more explicit. It said: "The restoration of the San Diego Mission, the first of the chain of stations established by Padre Junípero in Alta California, when this region was a province of Spain, it has become widely known is a cherished ambition of Rev. Fr. Ubach. His first move is to have the ancient bells recast, and only a day or two ago was this desired permission received from Bishop Mora of Los Angeles. Two have been in the uncompleted brick church at Old Town. One, which is badly cracked, hangs with a

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sound companion on the uprights at the west end of the Old Town chapel. This will be brought in and the one now used at the Indian school substituted. Two more are at St. Joseph's in this city and the sixth one has been sent up from the United States military barracks by Col. Brayton, who knew by legend that the military had no right to it, and had first made use of the bell years ago when they were without a bugle. These bells are believed to be largely of silver, and they will be shipped in a few weeks to a firm in Baltimore to be melted down and recast in two bells only. Speaking of the accepted belief that they had come from Spain, Fr. Ubach informed the *Union* yesterday that he discovered very recently in looking through the mission records quite to his surprise, that they had been cast instead at San Blas, State of Jalisco, Mexico, and which is now the Pacific coast terminus of the Mexican Central railroad. The inscription on these bells *Ave Maria Purisima* (Hail Mary Most Pure) has by Pope Pius' Immaculate Conception Dogma of December 8, 1854, come to stand for *Conceived Without Sin.* For that reason Fr. Ubach proposes that they shall be recast on the coming anniversary of this feast and with the following inscription: *Originally cast in San Blas, Mexico, in* 1792, *under Spanish rule, and recast at Baltimore, Md., United States of America, on the* 8*th day of December,* 1891."

What became of the neophytes? the reader may ask. The decree of confiscation directed that to each individual head of a family and to all over twenty years of age who had no family, a plot of land should be given which was to be not more than four hundred and not less than one hundred yards square. Whether this pittance, too small to eke out even a scanty living, was ever allotted to the Indians of Mission San Diego, is not known. Outside the orchards and vineyards, there was little around the mission property that belonged to the church. At all events, it appears that the Indians preferred to retire to the mountains, where in modern times their descendants have been collected in reservations by the United States Government. Let us hope that these homes of the poor Indians may be perpetual. The

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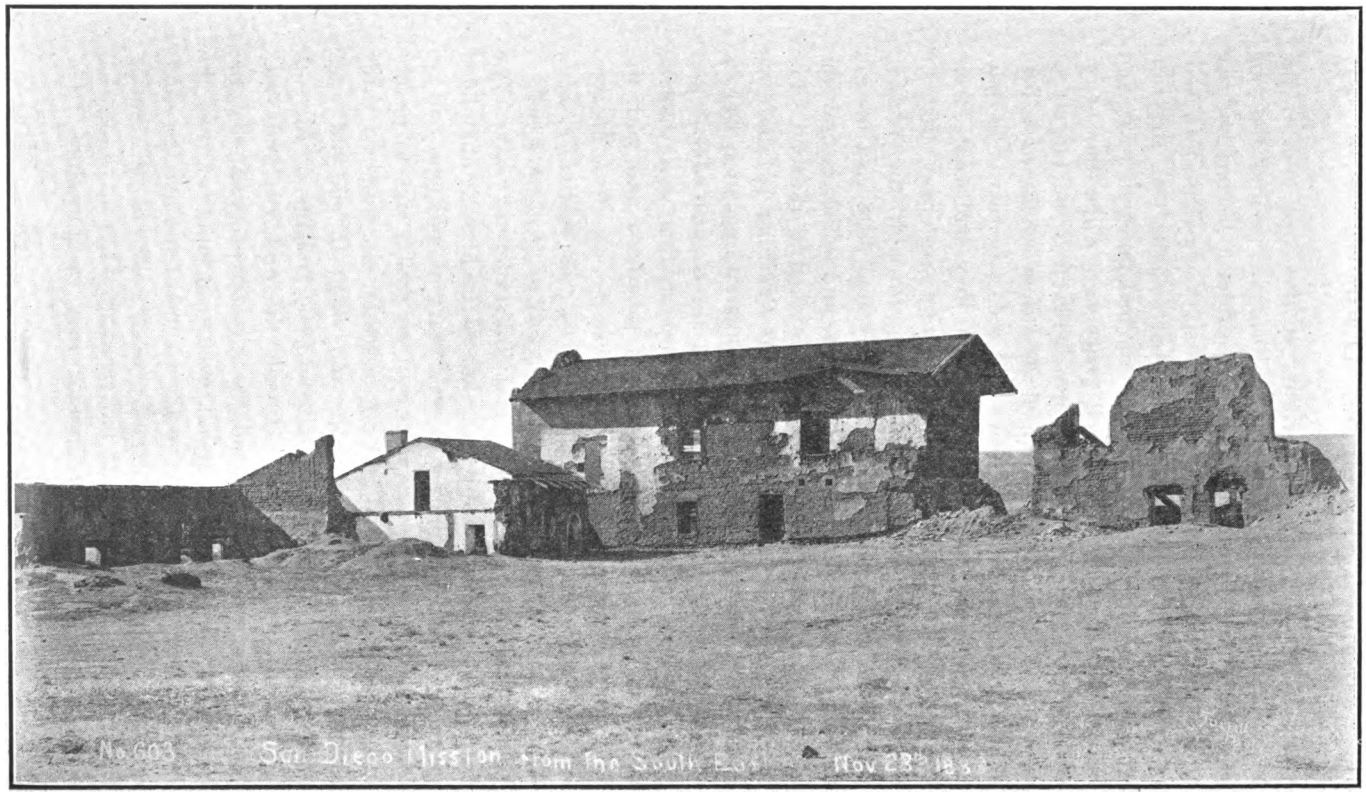

MISSION CHURCH AND FRONT WING IN 1886 AS VIEWED FROM THE INNER COURT.

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several reservations will be described in connection with Mission San Luis Rey.

What of the missionaries who were stationed at Mission San Diego? Little is known of their antecedents. They were Spaniards and had joined the Franciscan Order in the mother country. Here, too, they completed their philosophical and theological training, whereupon they were raised to the dignity of the holy priesthood. Many a time, no doubt, while busy with their books in the various monasteries of the provinces, they heard it said that men were needed for the extensive missions among the Indians of Mexico and California. And driven on by Franciscan zeal and enthusiasm, they after becoming priests pleaded for permission to consecrate themselves to the conversion of the savages. Then, bidding farewell forever to parents and friends and all earthly prospects, they embarked for the New World, supplied with the written permit and certificate, testifying that the volunteer was intellectually capable and morally and religiously competent for the great work that was to be entrusted to him. After he arrived at the Missionary College of San Fernando de Mexico, his credentials, containing an account of his antecedents, were carefully examined. These found satisfactory, the newcomer was heartily welcomed and eventually incorporated into the College family. The documents relating to each friar were deposited in the Archives and they would be there still only for the Liberal politicians of the Carranza type, who with insane hatred against Religion confiscated and despoiled its strongholds, the monasteries. Some of the documentary material was taken to the Government archives and libraries, while much of what belonged to the Missionary College of San Fernando was publicly burned in the streets of the City of Mexico. In 1905, the writer saw at the National Museum four bound volumes of manuscripts which had belonged to San Fernando. The letters of Fr. Crespi and Fr. Jaume, reproduced in this narrative, were among a number of others. This sad fate of the College records accounts for the dearth of historical data regarding the early Fathers.

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Of their career in the missions of California we have the dates and the records of what they achieved in behalf of the Indians. But little of this touches their own person, except in the case of some who came into prominence because their mission or their wards were attacked. The friars were averse to notoriety; and, unless compelled, they would write little more than the annual or biennial reports. Certain it is, however, the friars were unselfish in their aims, zealous and self-sacrificing in their labors, and exemplary in their conduct. If the Indians complained against one or the other that he was too strict, this accrues rather to his honor and credit; for, in the first place, it may be taken for granted that there was no more in their complaint than in the charges of indolent and turbulent schoolboys against their well-meaning teacher; and, in the second place, such complaints only go to show that the friar was a lover of law and order.

That the life of the missionaries was one of untold privations and hardships goes without saying. The journey from Mexico to California was anything but a pleasure trip. The daily allowance for the journey, assigned to the friars by the viceroy, was seven reales or 87½ cents. With this they had to defray the cost of transportation while on the journey or voyage. The trip had to be made within a specified time, so that if the friars tarried beyond the limit of days fixed, they themselves were the losers, since they received no further allowance of money. The expenses of the journey were always such as to exceed the amount allowed, wherefore the procurator of the College through the sindico would have to supply. The latter, in turn, would then often deprive the traveling friar even "of the chocolate," as one writer remarks, "which is the solace and comfort of the poor friar. When the missionary has arrived in California," the same writer continues, "he encounters new hardships and many afflictions; a mode of life begins altogether new for him; on all sides he sees nothing but enemies who aim at nothing more than to destroy whatever he wishes or intends to construct; Indians, soldiers,

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settlers are ever so many destroyers of the spiritual and temporal edifice of those missions; hence it is that, in the first years in which they exercise the ministry, all become a prey to the deepest melancholy, while some have been afflicted with complete insanity. But all this is nothing compared with the labors of a missionary in a newly-founded mission. The anxieties and sorrows through which the venerable religious pass in order to establish a mission, exceed the limits of all pondering. The imagination cannot picture that there are men who without any self-interest determine to undergo such hardships; yet it is certain that these missionaries cheerfully put up with it all; nothing daunts them, they conquer everything, and they do not rest and are not dismayed till they have brought the work to such a state that it rouses the envy of the enemies to see the Fathers administrators of such fair missions." [10]

The meager data and facts of the friars who died at Mission San Diego or who from there returned to Mexico have been gathered into brief sketches, which will take up the last chapter of this narrative.

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[10] Domingo Rivas in *Las Misiones de Alta California*, pp. 183-185. Mexico, Palacio Nacional, 1914.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Biographical Sketches.—Fr. Francisco Gómez.—Fr. Juan Vizcaino.—Fr. Luis Jayme.—Fr. Juan Figuér.—Fr. Juan Antonio García Riobó (Rioboo).—Fr. Juan Marinér.—Fr. Hilário Torrent.—Fr. José Panella.—Fr. Nicolás Lázaro.—Fr. José Pedro Panto.—Fr. Fernando Martin.—Resident and Visiting Fathers Who Officiated at Mission San Diego.

WE conclude our narrative with biographical sketches of the Franciscan missionaries who departed this life at Mission San Diego or who after serving there for a time retired to the Mother College of San Fernando in the City of Mexico. The appended list of missionaries who while either residing or visiting at Mission San Diego administered the Sacraments there at one time or other, will also be of interest.

Fr. Francisco Gómez was one of the first sixteen Franciscans selected in 1767 to take the places of as many retiring Jesuits in the missions of Lower California. He had come to Mexico from the Franciscan Province of the Immaculate Conception, in Castile, Spain. With Fr. Junipero Serra and companions he set out from the College of San Fernando, in the City of Mexico, on July 14, 1767. At Tepíc they had to wait for an opportunity to cross the Gulf of California, meanwhile giving missions in the surrounding country. Finally, on March 13, 1768, they bade farewell to the brethren of the convent, and at noon on the following day they reached San Blas, where they embarked that same evening, at eight o'clock. It was on Good Friday evening, April 1, 1768, that the little band of missionaries arrived at the Port of Loreto. The next day they landed, and on Easter Sunday, April 3, Fr. Presidente Serra officiated at the High Mass of thanksgiving celebrated in the pueblo church, and also preached an appropriate sermon. On Tuesday, Fr. Serra assigned the Fathers to their respective missions, Fr. Gómez being appointed to Mission

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Nuestra Señora de los Dolores or Mission de la Pasion as it was commonly called. At the time, four hundred and fifty Indian neophytes belonged to this mission.[1] It was suppressed by Inspector-General José de Galvez in September of that year, whereupon Fr. Gómez was transferred to Santa Rosalía de Mulege. Here he labored till about January, 1769, when Fr. Presidente Serra selected him to join the band of friars who were to devote themselves to the missions in Upper California. On February 15, 1769, he embarked with Fr. Juan Vizcáino on the *San Antonio* and, on April 11, arrived in the harbor of San Diego. With Fr. Juan Crespi, he was chosen to accompany the Portolá Expedition to Monterey, which set out from San Diego on July 14, 1769. Thus he was one of the discoverers of San Francisco Bay. On the way up, near San Juan Capistrano, Fr. Gómez, on July 22, administered the first Baptism in Upper California. The subject was a dying Indian child, which he named Magdalena in honor of the saint of that day. He returned to San Diego with the expedition on January 24, 1770, and was active there with Fr. Fernando Parron till March 21, 1771, when, being in ill health, he received permission from Fr. Serra to return to Mexico. He sailed on the *San Antonio*. For details regarding his stay in California, the reader may consult the second volume of Missions and Missionaries of California.

Fr. Juan Vizcáino was sent from the College of San Fernando to Lower California pursuant to a demand from José de Galvez for three more friars. With him sailed Fathers Juan de Escudero and Benito Sierra. They reached Cape San Lucas in February, 1769. Whilst his two companions were assigned to missions on the peninsula, Fr. Vizcáino together with Fr. Francisco Gómez were appointed chaplains for the *San Antonio*, which was about to set sail for Upper California. They embarked on February 15, and reached San Diego Port on April 11, 1769. Fr. Vizcáino

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[1] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. i, p. 304.

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remained with Fr. Serra and Fr. Fernando Parron, and on July 16, 1769, assisted at the founding of Mission San Diego. A month later, on August 15, the savages attacked the mission, on which occasion an arrow pierced the hand of Fr. Vizcáino. The arrow must have been poisoned; for after more than six months, the wound had not yet healed and was causing the missionary much suffering. Fr. Serra, therefore, allowed him to retire. Accordingly, on February 11, 1770, he left with the expedition commanded by Captain Rivera and arrived in Lower California, from where he doubtless returned to the College in the City of Mexico.

Fr. Luis Jaume (Jayme) had been, like Fr. Serra, a member of the Franciscan Province of Mayorca. When he came to America and joined the Missionary College of San Fernando de Mexico is not known. In October, 1770, he was chosen with nine companion friars for the missions of Upper California. When they reached Tepíc, there was no opportunity for sailing till January 20, 1771. They arrived at San Diego on March 12; but already on April 14, they all re-embarked and landed at Monterey on May 21. Here Fr. Presidente Serra assigned Fr. Jaume to Mission San Diego. Taking passage once more on July 7, in the *San Antonio,* the vessel that had brought him from San Blas, Fr. Jaume finally began his labors at Mission San Diego, which at that time was still situated on presidio hill near what is now called Old Town. As stated in an early chapter, it was Fr. Jaume who proposed that the mission be moved farther up the river. The transfer was accomplished in August, 1774. Here he labored so successfully that the jealousy of the pagan medicinemen was aroused. About one o'clock on Sunday morning, November 5, 1775, a horde of pagan Indians aided by a few faithless neophytes set fire to the mission buildings and cruelly murdered Fr. Jaume, who went out to the mob saluting them with his usual "Amar á Dios, hijos!—Love God, children!" What followed has been described in the foregoing pages. The mangled body of the missionary, showing eighteen arrow

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wounds eight of which were mortal, was later recovered in the arroyo, and taken to the presidio, where it was given temporary burial. Its entry, the first in the restored Death Register, reads as follows: "On the sixth day of November of the said year, 1775, I gave ecclesiastical burial in the church of the royal presidio of San Diego to Fr. Lector and Preacher Apostolic and missionary of this mission, Fr. Luis Jaume, who was killed without receiving the holy Sacraments; but it is known to me that on the day preceding his death he celebrated the holy Sacrifice of Mass, and that on the feast of All Saints he made his confession to me. In order that it be known and there remain (forever, if it can be) a remembrance of what has happened, it has appeared just to me to be somewhat explicit in this entry, recommending for God's sake to all that may read it, that they pray to God for said Fr. Luis Jaume. Requiescat in Pace.—In testimony of which I sign at this Mission of San Diego, on January 26, 1777. Fr. Vicente Fuster."

When the new mission church was completed, the body of Fr. Jaume was exhumed and interred in the sanctuary. The exact date of this event is not known. Here the remains of the martyred friar rested until November 12, 1813, when the third church was dedicated. In the afternoon of that day, they with those of Fr. Figuer and Fr. Mariner, who had meanwhile been buried here, were transferred to the church and deposited in one grave, though in separate boxes, between the main and side altars. The relics of Fr. Jaume in the smallest chest were interred nearest the statue of the Blessed Virgin; those of Fr. Mariner in the largest chest, near the statue of San Diego; and those of Fr. Figuer farther to the south. Three stones were placed over the tomb. Fr. Thomas Ahumada, a Dominican friar in charge of Mission San Miguel in Lower California, preached the sermon on that occasion.

Fr. Juan Figuér was originally a member of the Franciscan Province of Aragon. The date of his coming to America is not known. In 1770, he set out with twenty-nine Franciscans destined for the missions in Lower Cali-

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VIEW OF MISSION RUIN FROM THE REAR. BEYOND THE MOUNTAINS, TO THE RIGHT, LIES THE CITY OF SAN DIEGO.

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fornia. They arrived at Tepic that same year, in October, but not till the next February could they cross the Gulf of California. Storms drove the vessel *San Carlos* to Acapulco, and in trying to return, the ship ran aground within sight of Manzanillo. Whilst the other Fathers made their way up the coast by land, a distance of three hundred leagues, to Tamasula in Sinaloa, opposite Loreto, Fr. Figuér and Fr. Marcelino Senra remained on board the vessel until it was repaired and then continued the voyage by sea. But heavy storms again set in, so that the *San Carlos* did not land at Loreto until August 30, 1771, seven months after leaving San Blas. Fathers Figuér and Senra served as assistants at Mission San Francisco Borja. In 1772, Fr. Figuer was stationed at Mission Todos Santos. From here Fr. Palóu, in the fall of 1772, sent him with Fr. Ramon Usson to San Diego, where they arrived in November. They were intended for the new Mission of San Buenaventura, at the request of Fr. Serra. But as the founding of this mission was delayed, Fr. Figuér was sent to Mission San Gabriel, where his first entry in the Baptismal Register is dated May 10, 1773. From here he was transferred to Mission San Luis Obispo, where his first entry bears the date of August 28, 1774. He remained here until June, 1777, his last entry being dated June 13. He was then sent to Mission San Diego, where his first entry appears under date of August 31, 1777. At this mission, as elsewhere, the interference of the governor was becoming intolerable. Therefore, both Fr. Figuér and Fr. Lasuén determined to retire to Mexico and informed Fr. Presidente Serra to that effect. In reply, Fr. Figuér received a beautiful letter from Fr. Serra, in consequence of which he changed his mind and continued at his post till death relieved him.[2] He departed this life only four months after the death of Fr. Serra. His last entry in the Baptismal Register, under number 1070, is dated December 5, 1784. In the Death Register, the record of

[2] For this letter we refer the reader to *Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. ii, pp. 385-389.

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his interment reads as follows: "No. 263. Rev. Fr. Preacher Apostolic Juan Figuér.—On the nineteenth day of December, in the year 1784, in the church of the Mission of San Diego, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Fr. Juan Figuér, Preacher Apostolic of the College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando de Mexico, missionary at this mission, member of the holy Province of Aragon, and native of Anento in said dominion. He received very devoutly the holy Sacraments of Penance, Eucharist, and Extreme Unction. In witness of which I have signed on said day, month and year.—Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén." For the autograph signature of Fr. Figuér see page 129.

Fr. Juan Antonio García Riobó (Riobóo), formerly a member of the Franciscan Province of Santiago de Galícia, in Spain, was destined, in 1770, with twenty-nine other Franciscans for Lower California. While the other Fathers sailed in another vessel, Fr. Riobó was directed to accompany the new governor of California, Don Felipe Barri, and his family to Loreto. He reached Cerralvo on March 22, 1771, and received permission from Fr. Palóu

to take temporary charge of the two Indian pueblos San José and Santiago on the peninsula of Lower California. On May 27, 1773, on the cession of Lower California to the Dominicans, Fr. Riobó with five companions retired to the College of San Fernando. On February 12, 1779, he and Fr. Matias Noriega sailed as chaplains from San Blas on the *Nuestra Señora del Rosário,* otherwise known as *La Princesa,* which was sent on a voyage of exploration. On August 1, 1779, at sixty degrees and a few minutes latitude, the *Princesa* cast anchor in a bay to which was given the name Nuestra Señora de Regla, better known as Prince William's Sound. After stopping a while in the Bay of San Francisco, having arrived there on Septem-

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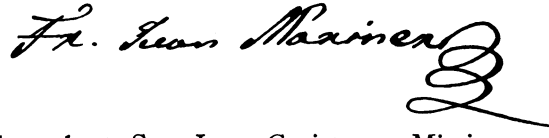
ber 15, the vessel with Fr. Riobó on board returned to San Blas in November. On June 2, 1783, Fr. Riobó arrived at San Francisco in the *San Carlos,* this time to stay in the missions. At San Carlos Mission, he found Fr. Presidente Serra in ill health. The following August, when Fr. Serra took passage on the returning *San Carlos* for San Diego, he had Fr. Riobó accompany him, and in September both arrived at the mission. Fr. Riobó was to stay there if a Father were needed. However, his name does not appear in the Baptismal Register of that mission until September 28, 1785; and his last entry in it is dated November 7, 1786. It would seem that he accompanied Fr. Serra to San Gabriel, for he enters a Baptism there on June 27, 1784. Apparently he remained there for over a year, since his last entry is dated October 27, 1785. On his way to San Gabriel, he must have stopped for a while at San Juan Capistrano; at least, his name appears on the Baptismal Register of that mission under date of February 15, 1784, on which occasion he administered the Sacrament to five persons. After November 7, 1786, his name is nowhere to be found. Probably, he retired to Mexico.

Fr. Juan Marinér. Of the antecedents of this Franciscan nothing is known. He was sent to California from the missionary College of San Fernando, in 1785, and arrived at Monterey probably the following August, for in that same year we find him baptizing at San Carlos Mission on Sep-



tember 4, and at San Juan Capistrano Mission on October 21. A few weeks later he was at San Diego Mission where his first entry in the Baptismal Register is dated December 5, 1785. Thenceforth he labored at this mission until his death. At the request of Fr. Presidente Lasuén, Fr. Marinér, in August, 1795, accompanied an expedition in search of sites for the contemplated Mission of San Luis Rey. His last entry in the Baptismal Register, under num-

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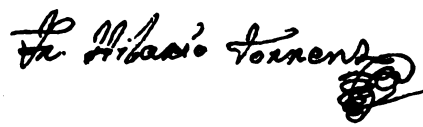
ber 2,711, is dated January 20, 1800. Nine days later, on January 29, he passed to his eternal reward. Following is the entry of his burial: "No. 1,059. Rev. Fr. Juan Marinér. On January 30, 1800, in the church of this Mission of San Diego, in the presbytery, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Fr. Juan Marinér, Missionary Apostolic and missionary of this Mission, who died the day before, at half-past eleven in the night. In witness whereof I signed this.—Fr. José Faura."

Fr. Hilário Torrent[3] appears for the first time in a letter of Fr. Guardian Juan Sancho, who writes under date of April 1, 1786, to Fr. Lasuén, that Fr. Hilário Torrent was coming to California with five other Franciscans; that he belonged to the Province of Catalonia, where he had been guardian of a monastery for three years, and for many years



vicar of a monastery; that he was talented and highly esteemed; and that he had volunteered for California. Fr. Torrent accordingly must have been nearer fifty than forty years of age when he arrived on the coast. He was at once placed in charge of Mission San Diego and labored there till November, 1798, although during the two last years he was almost entirely disabled, mentally and physically. In September, 1797, Fr. Lasuén wrote that Fr. Torrent had gone on September 27 to San Diego in order to set sail for Mexico. But apparently no opportunity presented itself until November of the following year. Fr. Torrent officiated at Baptisms during the year 1797, but Fr. Marinér or Fr. Panella would enter them in the register, which shows that the poor friar must have been badly crippled. His last Baptism was administered on October 22, 1797

[3] Thus the friar wrote his name; others wrote it Torrens. Between July 10, 1786, and November 15, 1787, the friar himself plainly puts a *t* at the end of his name and uses no rubric; later on, the letter looks more like an *s*.

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It is number 2,295 in the list, and it was entered for him by Fr. Marinér. The last time he administered the Sacrament of Matrimony was on January 24, 1797. After leaving California, on November 8, 1798, Fr. Torrent lived only a short time. He passed to his reward before May 14, 1799, a violent attack of convulsions bringing on the end, as Fr. Guardian Miguel Lull informed Fr. Lasuén.

Fr. José Panella arrived in California during the year 1797. Nothing is known of his antecedents. He was stationed at San Diego, where his first entry in the Baptismal Register is dated June 2, 1797, and his last, October 27, 1802, after which his name no longer appears. Apparently, he was staying a short time at San Luis Rey; but, if we

may believe Bancroft, Fr. Panella made enemies of the Indians there as also at San Diego. The Fr. Presidente, however, could find nothing worth while in the complaints launched against this friar. According to Bancroft, he sailed for Mexico on October 4, 1803, with the permission of his Superior.

Fr. Nicolás Lázaro, a native of Burgos, Spain, was sent to the California Missions by the College of San Fernando in the year 1805. Probably, on August 31, of that year,

he landed at Monterey. From there he appears to have soon after traveled overland southward; for, on September 13, he enters a Baptism in the Register of Mission San Antonio. Having reached his destination, San Fernando Mission, he baptized for the first time on October 5, 1805. His last entry there is dated June 12, 1807. Being in ill health,

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he was permitted to go to Mission San Diego in order to recuperate. His first baptismal entry there is dated August 9, 1807, on which day he baptized twice. Only nine days later, on August 18, death relieved him of his maladies. His burial is recorded as follows: "No. 1,727. Rev. Fr. Nicolás Lázaro. On August 19, 1807, Fr. Barona gave ecclesiastical burial, in the church of this Mission of San Diego, beneath the statue of San José, to the body of the Rev. Fr. Nicolás Lázaro, supernumerary missionary of said mission, member of the holy Province of Burgos, and formerly missionary at the Mission of San Fernando Rey, he having received the holy Sacraments which our holy Mother the Church prescribes. In witness whereof I sign.—Fr. José Sanchez."

Fr. José Pedro Panto arrived at San Diego from the College in Mexico on July 28, 1810, and served there until his death which occurred two years later. He baptized at the mission for the first time on February 27, 1811, and for the last time on June 21, 1812, nine days before his death. In the Death Register, the entry of his burial reads: "No. 2,143. Rev. Fr. Pedro Panto. On July 2, in the year

1812, in the church of this Mission of San Diego, with the assistance of the Rev. Fr. Thomas Ahumada, a Dominican, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Fr. Pedro Panto, deceased of said mission, member of the holy Province of San Miguel, and native of Valverde del Fresno. In preparation for death he received the holy Sacraments of Penance (he could not receive the Viaticum) and Extreme Unction. He passed away on June 30, at seven o'clock in the evening. He died from food poisoned by the (Indian) cook, according to opinions. Fr. Gerónimo Boscano."

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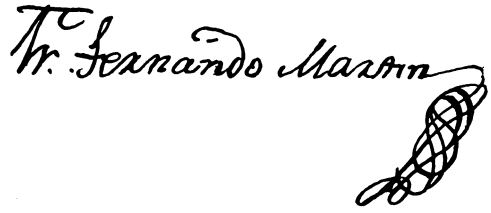
Fr. Panto received only the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. He could not receive the Holy Eucharist on account of constant vomiting. His companion, Fr. Sanchez, being absent when he was stricken, and no priest being able to arrive from San Luis Rey in time, notice was sent to Mission San Miguel in Lower California to Fr. Ahumada, as Fr. Presidente Estévan Tápis writes from Mission Purisima on July 4, 1812.

Fr. Fernando Martín was born on May 26, 1770, in the Villa de Robledillo, diocese of Ciudad Rodrigo, in Old Castile, Spain. He entered the Franciscan Order, on April 29, 1787, in the convent of St. Francis in Ciudad Rodrigo, belonging to the Franciscan Province of San Miguel *supra Tagum*. For eleven years and two months after his ordination, he remained a member of this convent, preaching in the surrounding country. Then he departed for Mexico and arrived at the College of San Fernando, where he was



incorporated on June 20, 1810, and at once destined for the California Missions. On the way to California, he underwent many hardships, owing to the bad condition of the roads, which had been washed away by floods, and particularly to the insurrection which had spread over the country. Finally, on July 6, 1812, he reached Mission San Diego, having journeyed by land. San Diego was his only scene of labor. He discharged his priestly duties at the mission and presidio for twenty-seven years, after which he was called to his eternal reward. Both Fr. Sarría and Fr. Payéras, Commissary Prefects of the Missions, spoke highly of Fr. Martin's zeal and deemed him worthy to be placed at the head of the brethren in California. Although he had taken the Oath of the Independence, Fr. Martín,

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like all but two of the Franciscans in California, in 1826, declined to take the oath of allegiance to the new Mexican Constitution, which Fr. Narciso Durán correctly declared was not the expression of the whole people of Mexico. Nevertheless, Fr. Martín offered to swear allegiance with the clause "as far as is compatible with my religious profession" or "in everything not contrary to my conscience," with which any reasonable government would have been satisfied. Since Fr. Martín was a Spaniard, he, too, notwithstanding his great services, was marked for expulsion from California; but in the end he was permitted to remain, because no missionaries of Mexican birth could be secured.[3] Unfortunately, the second Book of Burials is lost, so that the entry of Fr. Martin's death and burial cannot be reproduced. All we know is that he was called to his eternal reward on October 19, 1838, and that he was laid to rest within the church building. Bancroft[4] says that "he was an exemplary friar."

List of Resident and Visiting Fathers Who Officiated at Mission San Diego.

Fr. Junipero Serra—July 1, 1769-April 16, 1770.
Fr. Fernando Parron—April 29, 1769-April, 1771.
Fr. Juan Vizcáino—April 11, 1769-February 11, 1770.
Fr. Francisco Gómez—April 11, 1769-March, 1771.
Fr. Juan Crespi—May 14, 1769-July 14, 1769; January 24 to 17, 1770.
Fr. Antonio Paterna, March 12-April 14; July 14-August 6, 1771.
Fr. Francisco Dumétz—March 12, 1771-September, 1772.
Fr. Luis Jayme—July, 1771-November 4, 1775.
Fr. Juan Crespi—May, 1772-September, 1772.
Fr. Pedro Benito Cambon, July, 1771-August, 1771.
Fr. Thomas de la Peña—May, 1772-September, 1773.
Fr. Angel Somera—July, 1771-August, 1771.

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[3] For the controversy on this matter see *Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. iii, 245-268; 282; vol. iv, pp. 80-81.

[4] Vol. iii, p. 619.

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Fr. Francisco Palóu—August 30-September 26, 1773.
Fr. Juan Prestamero—August 30-September 26, 1773.
Fr. José Antonio Murguía—August 30-September 26, 1773.
Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén—August 30-September 26, 1773.
Fr. Gregorio Amúrrio—August 30, 1773-May, 1774.
Fr. Vicente Fuster—August 30, 1773-July 27, 1777.
Fr. Junipero Serra—March 13-April 6, 1774.
Fr. Pablo Mugártegui—March 13, 1774-September, 1774.
Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén—November 10, 1775-September 5, 1785.
Fr. Antonio Paterna—February 22, 1777.
Fr. Juan Figuér—August 31, 1777-December 18, 1784.
Fr. Miguel Sanchez—June 9, 1779.
Fr. Pablo Mugartegui—June 19, 1780.
Fr. Vicente Fuster—August 5, 1780; February 23, 1783.
Fr. Junipero Serra—October 2, 1783.
Fr. Juan Antonio García Riobó—September 28, 1785-November 7, 1786.
Fr. Juan Mariner—December 5, 1785-January 29, 1800.
Fr. Hilario Torrent—November 11, 1786-September 27, 1798.
Rev. José Lopez y Nava, Chaplain of the *San Carlos*—November 12, 1787.
Fr. Juan Norberto de Santiago—December 17, 1788.
Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén—November 21, 1789; March 11 and 19, and April 23, 1791.
Fr. Caietano Pallas, O. P.—April 5, 1791.
Fr. Josef de Loriente, O. P.—September 7, 1791; June 22, 1792; July 20, 1798.
Fr. Nicolas Loesa, Chaplain of Transport Ship—November 6, 1792.
Fr. Cristobal Oramas—October 13 and 14, 1793.
Fr. Miguel Pieras—September 17 and 19, 1794.
Fr. Bartolomé Gili—October 10-November 4, 1794.
Fr. Mariano Apolinario, O. P.—October 15, 1794; October 26, 1795.
Fr. Miguel Lopez, O. P.—May 27 and June 12, 1795.

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Fr. José Señan—October 17 and November 1, 1795.
Fr. Pedro Esteban—November 14, 1795-July 1, 1797.
Fr. Antonio Dantí—October 20 and 29, 1796.
Fr. Juan Norberto de Santiago—May 28 and July 2, 1797.
Fr. Thomas Valdellon, O. P.—February, 1797.
Fr. Joseph Panella—June 2, 1797-January 20, 1803.
Fr. Joseph Conause, O. P.—July 20, 1798.
Fr. Joseph Barona—August 4, 1798-January 24, 1811.
Fr. Ramon López, O. P.—November, 1798.
Fr. José Faura—July 1, 1798; February 15 and October 1, 1799; August 30, 1800.
Fr. José de la Cruz Espi—December 15, 1799—January 5, 1800.
Fr. Francisco X. Uría—December 18, 1799.
Fr. Miguel Giribet—January 12, 1800.
Fr. Antonio Peyri—March 5, 1800.
Fr. Eudaldo Surroca, O. P.—November 1 and 5, 1801.
Fr. Jacinto López—November 23, 1801.
Fr. Pedro Estéban—May 21 and September 5-October 3, 1802.
Fr. Mariano Payéras—December 11, 1803-September 30, 1804.
Fr. Josef Bernardo Sánchez—October, 1804-May 16, 1820.
Fr. Pedro de la Cueva or Cuevas—September 30, 1806.
Fr. José Portela, O. P.—July, 1805.
Fr. José García—February 2, 5, 15 and 18; September 8 and 10, 1807; September 9-October 30, 1808.
Fr. Nicolás Lázaro—June 25-August 18, 1807.
Fr. Domingo de Carranza, O. P.—May 18, 1809; November 25, 1810.
Fr. Pedro González, O. P.—October 25, 1808.
Fr. Pedro Panto—January, 1811-July 1, 1812.
Rev. José Maria Afanador, Chaplain of the *San Carlos*—October 12, 1809.
Fr. Domingo Iturrate—November 10, 1809.
Fr. Fernando Martin—July 6, 1812-October 19, 1838.
Fr. Thomas Ahumada, O. P.—March 18, 1813; May 2, 1814.

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Fr. Vicente de Sarría—November 7, 1813.
Fr. Gerónimo Boscana—May and June, 1812; November 21, 1813.
Fr. José Miguel de Pineda, O. P.—May 13 and 21, and June 17, 1815.
Fr. Vicente de Sarría—July 23, 1818; January 1, 1826.
Fr. Jayme Escudé—July 23, 1818.
Fr. Vicente Pasqual Oliva—June 28, 1820-January, 1832.
Fr. José Martínez, O. P.—November 12, 1820.
Fr. Mariano Payéras—August 29, 1821.
Fr. José Bernardo Sánchez—August 29, 1821.
Fr. Felix Caballero, O. P.—February 14 and 28, and May 14, 1824; December 7, 1826; October and November, 1830; February 13 and August 27, 1831; August 15-September 10, 1834.
Fr. Antonio Menéndez (at Presidio)—March 31, 1824-October 16, 1829.
Fr. Antonio Ánzar—July 13 and 23, 1831.
Fr. José Mariano Sosa—December 4-6, 1832.
Fr. José Maria del Reál—February 17, 1833.
Fr. Domingo Luna, O. P.—June 4, 1833.
Fr. Narciso Durán—July 12, 1833.
Fr. José Viader—November 17, 19 and 22, 1833.
Fr. Buenaventura Fortuni—September 22, 1833-July 27, 1834.
Fr. Vicente Pasqual Oliva—August, 1834-June 14, 1846.
Fr. Juan Cabot—February 1-March 20, 1835.
Fr. Francisco González Ibárra—December 11, 1837; September 7 and 8, 1838; January 18, 1839.
Fr. Thomas Mansilla, O. P.—February 28, 1840; June 9, 1844; June and July, 1848.
Fr. Francisco Sánchez—December 30, 1841.
Fr. Ignácio Ramirez Arelláno, O. P.—July 4, August 2, and October 25, 1844.
Fr. Antonio del Reál—November 18, 1845.
Rev. Juan Crisóstomo Holbein, C. SS. CC.—July, 1849-September, 1854.
Rev. Pedro Bagaria—1855-1857.
Rev. John Molinier—1858-1863.
Rev. Antonio Ubach—1866-April 27, 1907.

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APPENDIX

A.

(To Page 9.)

San Diego—Sanctus Dídacus—Saint Dídacus Patron of the Harbor, City, Mission, River and County of San Diego.

Diego was born toward the end of the fourteenth century at San Nicolas del Puerto, a town fifteen leagues from Seville, the capital of the Province of Andalusia, in Spain. His parents were of the poorer class. But they were deeply religious and brought up their child for God and holiness. At an early age he sought the company of a holy hermit priest, with whom he led a life of solitude and prayer. When not occupied with devotional exercises, the two would work in their little garden or make wooden spoons, trenchers, and similar utensils. In this way they earned a livelihood and overcame the greatest obstacle to sanctity—idleness. Having lived several years with the hermit, Dídacus longed to walk still more closely in the footsteps of the Redeemer and therefore went to the convent of the Franciscans at Arrizafa. He asked for and received admission into the Order of St. Francis among the lay brothers who attend to the domestic work of the community of religious. After his solemn profession, that is, after he had taken the usual vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, the saintly friar was selected to accompany a Franciscan Father to the Canary Islands. In this new field of activity, Dídacus proved wonderfully apt in teaching the rudiments of Christianity to the idolatrous natives and succeeded in converting large numbers of them to the Faith of Christ. The result was that, although a lay brother, he was appointed superior of the Franciscan convent on one of the islands, called Fonteventura. How he longed to shed his blood for Christ at the hands of the barbarians. But this singular privilege was not to be his. Probably on the expiration of his term of office, his superiors recalled him to Spain where he lived in various convents of the Order, a shining example of religious fervor, childlike simplicity, profound recollection, and severe austerity. "He seemed so much absorbed in God," says Alban Butler, "as scarce to be able to speak but to Him or of Him; and the humility, ardor, and lively sentiments with which he always discoursed of heavenly things, discovered how much he was dead to himself, and replenished with the divine Spirit."

In 1450, Dídacus accompanied Fr. Alonso de Castro to Rome, to

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share in the great jubilee celebration proclaimed by Pope Nicholas V. He stayed in the Eternal City thirteen weeks, during which time he proved how ardently he loved God by his heroic works of charity. Day and night he nursed the sick, and though a scarcity of food had set in, those under his care never lacked proper and wholesome food.

Returning to Spain, the servant of God spent the next thirteen years in the Franciscan houses of Seville and Castile. As time went on, the sanctity of the lay brother became more apparent. By constant self-denial he had gained full control over perverse nature. Like St. Paul, he chastized his body and brought it into subjection. His brethren never saw him troubled, never heard an impatient or unkind word from him. Having no other will but that of his divine Master, he accepted good and evil with equal cheerfulness as coming from Him to whom he had consecrated himself. To penance and self-denial he joined incessant prayer and spent long hours each day in contemplating the attributes and works of God. Frequently at such times his body was seen raised from the ground.

In 1463, Dídacus took sick. This happened at Alcalá where he spent the last years of his life. He realized that he would soon pass to a better life and with increased fervor began to prepare himself for the final struggle. When in his last agony, he asked for a cord such as the friars wore, and placing it around his neck and holding a crucifix in his hands, he turned to his brethren assembled around his bed and begged their pardon for any scandal he might have given them. All were deeply touched, while tears welled from the eyes of the dying saint. Then fixing his eyes on the crucifix, he repeated with great tenderness the words of the hymn of the Cross, *Dulce lignum, dulces clavos,* and quietly passed to his eternal reward. It was November 12, 1463. King Philip II, of Spain, joined the people in soliciting the canonization of the servant of God. Rome heeded the petition and the usual rigid examination into the life of the friar began. It was amply proved that the saintly lay brother had practiced in an heroic degree the theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, the moral virtues of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance, and the three religious vows of Obedience, Poverty, and Chastity, whereupon he was accorded the title of Venerable. Finally, unmistakable proof having been presented that through the intercession of Venerable Dídacus at least two miracles, that is works such as only God can effect, had been wrought, Pope Sixtus V, in 1588, placed his name in the catalogue of saints. Not till then was it lawful to style him St. Dídacus or San Diego. November 13 was assigned as the day on which the Church at large was to celebrate the feast of the newly canonized saint. By special privilege, however, the Franciscan Order celebrated and still celebrates his feast on November 12, the day on which he died. It was also on this day that the harbor of San Diego was re-discovered and named.

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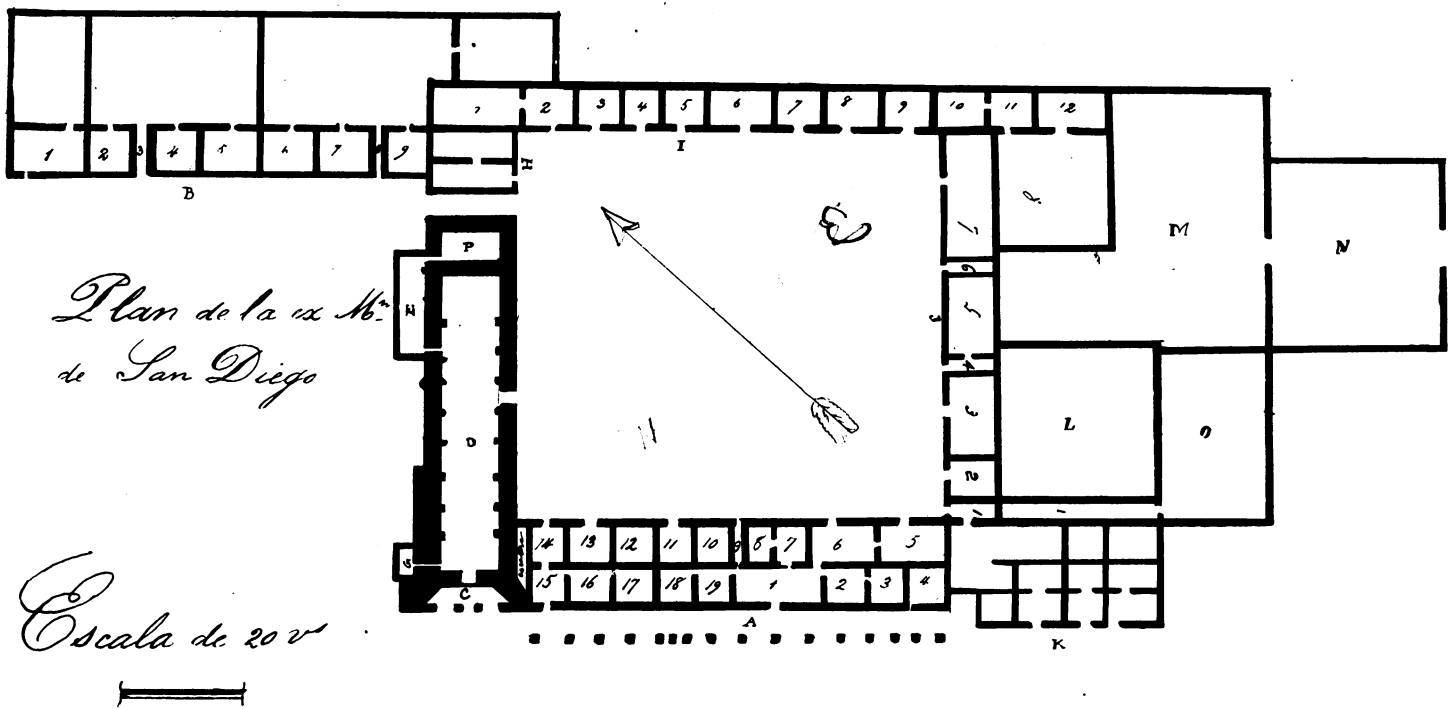

GROUND PLAN OF MISSION SAN DIEGO.

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B

(To Page 18.)

Prof. J. M. Guinn, of Los Angeles, author of ponderous County histories, in this connection made a discovery for which he should receive due credit. Referring to the scurvy on the ship, he says: "Its appearance and ravages were largely due to the neglect of sanitary precautions and to the utter indifference of those in authority to provide for the comfort and health of the sailors. The intercession of the saints, novenas, fasts, and penance were relied upon to protect and save the vessel and her crew, while the simplest sanitary measures were utterly disregarded. A blind, unreasoning faith that was always seeking interposition from some power without to preserve and ignoring the power within, was the bane and curse of that age of superstition."*

When one reads with what solicitude Inspector-General José de Galvez fitted out the ships for their voyage to California, one cannot help being amazed at the audacity of this would-be historian. Guinn's fling at the saints, etc., reveals monumental ignorance of the subject he touches and an itchy disposition to ridicule and misrepresent the Faith of the missionaries who had naught wherewith to have themselves canonized in the Professor's *Hist. and Biogr. Rec.*, at the rate of twenty-five dollars per page.

C.

(To Pages 33 and 37.)

Notwithstanding that Fr. Junipero Serra's words and actions as to the abandonment of California determined upon by Gaspar de Portolá are exactly recorded by the best authority, Dr. Charles E. Chapman, in *The Founding of the Spanish California*, p. 99, writes, "A story has sprung up that Portolá might (would) have abandoned Alta California but for Father Serra."

So, it is only a story! Is that the way to state an undisputed historical fact? Unpalatable though it may be, a fact of history will not be twisted by a conscientious historian and palmed off as something that has no other than legendary basis. Dr. Chapman says: "The latter (Fr. Serra) is said (!!!) to have prevailed upon the commander to delay his departure, with the result that the *San Antonio* was sighted the very day before Portolá planned to leave. *If it is true, then Serra is to be credited with having saved the Alta California establishments in their first hour of need.*" The insertions and italics are ours. Notwithstanding this just conclusion, Dr. Chapman immediately goes to work and over two pages tries

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* Guinn, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 46. See *Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. iii, Appendix K, for another remarkable charge of this would-be historian.

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hard to make it appear that the credit nevertheless belongs to Portolá! Portolá deserves credit for bringing back to San Diego every man of his unsuccessful expedition to the north. That was a feat, indeed; but to vindicate to him the honor of having saved California, an honor according to Dr. Chapman himself due to Fr. Serra, after Portolá had practically abandoned the territory, is a kind of logic we can not comprehend. The reader is cordially invited to study the facts as stated by us and by H. H. Bancroft himself.

Another author, Dr. H. G. Priestly in *José de Galvez*, p. 254, endeavors to show that neither Fr. Serra nor Portolá deserves the honor, although he admits that Fr. Serra "saved the expedition at San Diego when Portolá, discouraged at the sickness and sorry plight of the first expedition, was ready to attempt to save the party by returning to the peninsula." Dr. Priestly holds that Don José de Galvez should be credited with having first settled California, because he conceived the plan. Yet, we ask, who directed Galvez to proceed on that line? The Spanish Government, for which we refer the reader to *Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. ii, pp. 3-4. Galvez planned the details of the expedition, it is true; but, just as his plans and regulations for Lower California resulted in confusion and failure, as Fr. Palóu points out (see vol. i, p. 367), so also the expeditions which he despatched to Upper California ended in disaster and failure. It was Fr. Junípero Serra who, to use a military term, wrested victory from defeat. It was he who planted Religion and civilization in California by founding "his missions and supported these without a *peso* of government aid; who introduced and fostered husbandry among the natives and made it possible among the settlers, whose foundations without recompense for long periods supported even the government troops with the common necessities of life, whose Indian settlements, when stolen from their lawful owners, became the nucleus of California's agricultural development. To whom is the honor due? Let California answer by hastening to set up a statue of Junípero Serra in her empty niche in the Hall of Fame." *America*, New York, January 13, 1917, pp. 332-333.

D.

(To Page 212.)

It may be news to Smythe and his kind that the Catholics in the United States, in addition to paying taxes for the support of public schools, are maintaining 5000 private or so-called parochial schools, in which 1,750,000 children are being educated by about 42,000 teachers. This represents an *extra* annual outlay of $55,000,000. So much for the sacrifices which Catholics of this country are making in behalf of education.

Possibly, Smythe and his kind will shut their eyes to this huge effort of their Catholic fellow citizens in the interest of education, and claim that the schools under Catholic auspices are behind the times

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and sadly lacking in efficiency; but on this score they may possess their souls in peace. The teachers in these schools, as a rule, make teaching their life work, their vocation, and not merely a stepping-stone to something more profitable or agreeable. Hence they may be regarded as experts in their line. Though reasonable, this statement may not appear convincing, therefore we adduce proof. Wherever and whenever the pupils of the Catholic schools are brought into competition with those of the public schools, the former not only hold their own, but actually carry off far more than their proportion of prizes. Without leaving the southern district of California, nay, without leaving San Diego County, we can point to conclusive evidence that education at least equal to that provided in the public schools is acquired in the Catholic schools. As a bit of contemporaneous history, and as a proof of our claim, it will interest the student of history and the friends of education to state just one instance. The United States War Department early in 1920 announced a prize contest for an essay of 400 words on the subject "The Benefits of Enlistment in the United States." One should think that such a theme would be foreign to a school conducted by Nuns. As the competition was open to all elementary and high schools without discrimination, the pupils of numerous Catholic schools entered the arena to contest for the prize. Not as much noise was made over the result in this district as would have been made if a public school had come out victorious. It so happened, however, that an obscure educational institution in San Diego County carried off the first prize offered to the Southern Military District which comprises New Mexico, Arizona, and Southern California from Santa Barbara inclusive to San Diego inclusive.

The prize essay was furnished by a young miss of the high school department of the school connected with the former Mission of San Luis Rey and conducted by the Sisters of the Precious Blood. Her essay was selected as the best from 50,000 papers submitted by pupils of the public and the parochial schools of the Military District. The judges were Major General Kuhn, commander of the said Military District, Colonel Allen Smith, and Captain Warren Carberry. The presentation of the prize by Major Fay took place at San Luis Rey on Sunday, April 11, 1920.

It might be asserted that this outcome was purely accidental; but the enemies of the Catholic school system will have to forego even this consolation. Letting alone the fact that Catholic pupils carried off more than their proportion of prizes in the other forty-nine Military Districts, it is but fair to state that the young prize winner of San Luis Rey's little high school had two girl competitors in her class whose essays were so nearly equal to her own prize essay that various outside judges found it difficult to arrive at a decision.

Lastly, that it may not be said the pupils had secured their education at some other institution, be it known that the prize winner had

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been an inmate of San Luis Rey's Academy for four years, and that she has still one year to study before she graduates.

In this connection, and as a bit of contemporaneous history concerning Old Mission San Diego, the reader's attention is called to another evidence that the Catholic Church favors and fosters education among her children of every race in keeping with the times, countries, and other circumstances. The late Rev. Antonio Ubach, for more than forty years pastor of San Diego and surrounding district including the Indians of the sierras, erected a large frame school building on the northwest side or to the left of the old Mission church, for Indian girls. On the southeast end of the runied Mission buildings he erected another frame structure which was to be used as a dormitory for Indian boys. For the first school year, 1887, the average attendance of Indian children was fifty-four girls and boys, for whose board, clothing, and primary education the United States Government under contract contributed monthly $12.50 per capita. Of course, this contribution could not cover the expense and Father Ubach had to supply the deficiency. The institution was placed in charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, St. Louis, Missouri, who have a convent and academy in San Diego. In honor of the zealous pastor, this educational institution was named for his Patron Saint—St. Anthony's School. It continued for twenty years, sometimes having an enrollment of nearly 100 Indian boys and girls, until the summer of 1907, in which year, on April 27, its founder's active life was crowned by a pious death. Since then the buildings have been vacant, the children attending either the Banning Boarding School or the day schools that arose nearer their homes.

E.

(To Page 235.)

The following list is a copy of the Mission Inventory of the year 1834. It was compiled by an apparently unlettered Californian, who employed phonetic spelling to such an extent that the copy in parts was rendered untranslatable and unintelligible. We endeavored to rectify some of the more glaring errors.

It will be seen that church and vestry were well supplied. The enumeration and valuation of the bells will especially interest some readers; also the fact that an organ is mentioned at the foot of the list. This may be the instrument Vancouver presented to Fr. Lasuén. There is no reference anywhere else that the Mission possessed an organ, or that this was anything but a barrel organ.

The names at the end of the copy are not autographs. Rocha was the commissioner of secularization, and Fr. Martin (not Martines) was the missionary in charge, and both of course signed the original.

Fr. Oliva with his own hand dated and signed the document eight years later, and added his *rubrica*. On the same occasion, J. A. Góngora, Justice of the Peace at San Diego, and Macário Rivera cer-

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tify that the Copy of the Inventory agrees faithfully with the original. They sign this statement each with his own hand.

In conclusion Father Oliva writes the *Nota* at the end, and complains that this Inventory lacks the entries for the field implements, and that it nowhere states how many cattle, sheep, and horses the Mission possessed in 1834. This note and signature is also in Fr. Oliva's own hand.

Inventario General de las Existencias de la Mision de San Diego hecho el Dia 20 de Sept. de 1834.

EXISTENCIAS DE LA IGLESIA.

2 Casuyas raso blanco guarnecidas de bricho ordinario angosto con todo adorno, valuadas a 15 pesos..... 30
4 Dichas blancas con guarnicion con galon fino, a 5..... 20
1 Dicho, medio uso, a 10..... 10
2 Casuyas nuevas de terciopelo negro guarnecidas de galon de plata y oro fino, a 30..... 60
2 Idem de idem negras de Damasco viejo, a 5..... 10
2 Dealmaticas de tercippelo negro con sus bolas guarnicion de galon fino, a 30..... 60
1 Casuya de terciopelo encarnado guarnicion de galon de plata, a 30 30
1 Idem de lustercia misma guarnicion de medio uso, a 12..... 12
1 Casuya de Damasco galon ordinario medio uso, a 10..... 10
2 Idem Damasco guarnicion galon fino angosto y viejas, a 5.... 10
1 Casuya raso Morado bordado en hilo de oro y forada en tafetan de medio uso, a 30..... 30
1 Idem de Damasco morado medio uso guarnicion galon de plata fino, a 16..... 16
1 Idem de idem medio uso galon angosto fino, a 12..... 12
2 Idem de idem Damasco verde guarnicion de oro fino medio uso, a 15 30
1 Capa negra de terciopelo guarnocion de galon de plata, a 50. 50
1 Idem nueva raso negro guarnecida de liston de seda, a 20.... 20
1 Idem encarnada de Damasco guarnicion de galon de oro, a 40. 40
1 Idem de dos caras de Damasco verde y morada guarnicion de galon oro fino medio uso, a 25..... 25
1 Idem de Damasco encarnado vieja guarnicion de galon de oro fino, a 8..... 8
1 Idem de raso blanco labrado guarnicion de galon de plata, a 8 8
1 Frontal de terciopelo labrado negro galon de plata fino nuevo, a 35 35
2 Idem de Damasco viejos de galon de plata, a 10..... 20
1 Idem de dos Caras Damasco guarnicion de galon fino, a 20... 20
1 Idem de terciopelo guarnicion de oro fino muy viejo, a 8..... 8
1 Idem de tisu de plata color encarnado con fleco de plata, a 60 60

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1 Idem color de rosa guarnicion de plata viejo, a 5..... 5
1 Idem de raso blanco labrado nuevo guarnicion de galon de oro falso, a 12..... 12
1 Idem de dos caras de medio uso guarnicion de galon fino, a 15 15
1 Palio de Damasco blanco con guarnicion de galon angosto fino medio uso, a 25..... 25
1 Muceta de Damasco blanco y guarnecido de galon de plata angosto, a 4..... 4
1 Amasal de Damasco blanco guarnicion de galon angosto fino, a 4 4
1 Idem de pana negra guarnicion de galon de plata, a 10..... 10
6 Naguillas de la Cruz, a 3..... 18
1 Casuya de Damasco blanco labrado guarnicion de galon de oro fino todo nuevo con lo necesario, a 50..... 50
2 Dealmaticas de idem de idem, a 50..... 100
1 Frontal de idem de idem, a 40..... 40
1 Aruasal de idem de idem, a 16..... 16
1 Idem raso blanco bordado de a 16..... 16
1 Frontal pequeño de tisu labrado guarnicion de oro fino, a 12.. 12
1 Idem raso rosa medio uso, a 6..... 6
18 Albas de Islanda con sus encajes, a 6..... 108
3 Albas de musolinas labradas con sus encajes y clasicos, a 8.. 24
1 Idem de idem de encaje, a 40..... 40
4 Idem de idem de musolina, a 10..... 40
1 Idem de idem de encaje, a 30..... 30
17 Manteles Islanda corriente, a 3..... 51
2 Idem de idem clasicos, a 15..... 30
21 Amitos ordinarios de Islanda nuevos, a 1:4..... 31:4
2 Amitos de puntos, a 3..... 6
2 Idem de musolino, a 2..... 4
35 Corporales de cambray, a 2..... 70
72 Purificadores finos, a 4 rs..... 36
26 Manutegos, a 4 rs..... 13
2 Cingulos clasicos, a 10 ps..... 20
1 Idem de idem, a 24 ps..... 24
1 Cortina de tabernaculo, a 2 ps..... 2
7 Sobre pellis (Sobrepelliz); a 3 ps..... 21
15 Cubre altares, a 2 ps..... 30
1 Mantel manta blanca, a 4 ps..... 4
12 Tuayas, a 1 ps 4 rs..... 18
17 Roquetes nuevos, a 3 ps..... 51
7 Roquetes viejos, a 4 rs..... 3:4
2 Cortinas Barondales, a 7 ps..... 14
1 Idem idem de idem, a 10 ps..... 10
4 Cortinas Indiana fina grandes y nuevas, a 15 ps..... 60
1 Idem chica de mascados, a 3 ps 4 rs..... 3:4

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2 Cortinas de Damasco para el dosel, a 5 ps..... 10
3 Panos de madras, a 2 ps 4 rs..... 7:4
2 Frontales de Indiana con encaje, a 3 ps 4 rs..... 7
7 varas Damasco nuevo encarnado, a 3 ps..... 21
4½ vara galon fino ancho de oro, a 7 ps..... 31:4
12½ varas espigueta de plata fina, a 1 ps..... 12:4
7 Mascados de seda y 1 tapalo, a 1 ps..... 7
1 Tapalo, a 1 ps..... 1
4 varas Damasco nuevo encarnado, a 3 ps..... 12
1 vara galon con espigueta, a 8 ps..... 8
1 Misal aforado en terciopelo colorado carmesi guarnicion de plata, a 100 ps..... 100
1 Idem medio uso sin guarnicion, a 12 ps..... 12
3 Misales viejos, a 4 ps..... 12
1 Caliz de plata dorado con su patena y cucharita con peso de.
4 Marcos 5 onsas, a 8 ps marco..... 37
1 Idem idem idem, 3 idem, 1 idem, a 8..... 25
1 Idem idem idem, 2 idem, 4½ idem, a 8..... 20:4
1 Idem idem idem, 3 idem, 2 idem, a 8..... 26
4 Espejos grandes; y 1 idem, a 300 ps..... 300
1 Copon de plata con 2 marcos 4 onsas, a 8..... 20
1 Relicario de idem idem idem, 3 idem, a 8..... 3
1 Idem de oro con idem, 1⅞, a 16..... 30
1 Santa Cruz de plata con 5 marcos, a 8..... 40
2 Candeleros idem con 12 idem, 4 idem, a 8..... 100
1 Nabeta con su cuchara con 3 idem, 1 idem, a 8..... 25
1 Insensario idem con 5 idem, 4 idem, a 8..... 44
1 Cruz alta idem con 24 idem, 3 idem, a 8..... 195
2 Siriales idem con 28 idem, 4 idem, a 8..... 228
3 Crismeros idem con 1 idem, 3 idem, a 8..... 11
1 Salero y su Cristo, 2 idem, idem, a 8..... 16
1 Coja y platos idem, 6 idem, a 8..... 14
1 Candelerito de idem, 1 idem, 7 idem, a 8..... 15
6 Candeleros de bronze grande, a 3 ps..... 18
6 Idem medianos, a 1 ps 4 rs..... 9
5 Idem pequenos, a 1 ps..... 5
1 Insensario con su nabeta, a 6 ps..... 6
1 Asetro de bronze, a 2 ps 4 rs..... 2:4
1 Idem de cobre, a 2 ps 4 rs..... 2:4
2 Lamparas de bronze.....
3 Campanillas, a 1 ps..... 3
1 Ostiario de bronze, a 1 ps..... 1
1 Rueda con 11 campanitas, a 10 ps..... 10
1 Bandeja de laton, a 3 ps..... 3
1 Cruz grande de laton, a 3 ps..... 3
1 Idem idem de idem, a 3 ps..... 3

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4 Candeleros de cristal fino con sus toubas a 100..... 100
2 Candeleros con bonbas de cristal, a 28..... 28
20 Lamparas de cristal, a 1 ps 4 rs..... 30
2 Idem de cristal cuajado, a 5 ps..... 10
3 Vasos para lamparas, a 2 rs..... :6
2 Conbas de cristal, a 5 ps..... 10
4 Pares Binegeras con sus platos, a 3 ps..... 12
4 Pincheles de cristal, a 1 ps 4 rs..... 6
6 Frascos de cristal, a 1 ps..... 6
6 Faroles de talco, a 1 ps 4 rs..... 9
4 Reberberos, a 2 ps..... 8
8 Opas de Satanilla encarnado, a 1 ps 4 rs..... 12
1 Alfonbra grande medio uso, a 30 ps..... 30
2 Idem medianas de idem, a 10 ps..... 20
2 Cortinos azules de cañamo, a 5 ps..... 10
1 Tabernaculo madero ordinario, a 6 ps..... 6
1 Cajon de sacristia, 2½ v. largo, 1 de ancho, a 20 ps..... 20
3 Baules de china, a 10 ps..... 30
2 Comodas medera fina, a 20 ps..... 40
1 Baul grande biejo, a 4 ps..... 4
1 Senor San Diego de bulto, a 50 ps..... 50
1 Senor San Francisco de idem, a 50 ps..... 50
1 San Antonio de idem, a 50 ps..... 50
1 Birgen de Pilar, idem chica, a 20 ps..... 20
1 Santo Cristo pequeno de madero, a 8 ps..... 8
1 Idem idem grande, a 80 ps..... 80
1 Cuadro 3 varas de alto del Iuicio, a 30 ps..... 30
1 Birgen de Dolores de bulto, a 80 ps..... 80
1 San Jose de idem, a 80 ps..... 80
1 Purisima y 1 San Jose, a 12 ps..... 24
2 Cuadros de la pasion, a 25 ps..... 50
1 San Diego, a 25 ps..... 25
14 Laminas de la pasion, a 2 ps.....
3 Confesionarios madera ordinaria, a 8 ps..... 24
1 Birgen de nuestra Senora de la Luz, a 5 ps..... 5
1 San Francisco y San Antonio, a 25 ps..... 50
1 Cuadro del Bautismo, a 5 ps..... 5
1 Bautisterio de cobre, a 20 ps..... 20
1 Bandeja de idem, a 3 ps..... 3
1 Mesita, a 1 ps..... 1
4 Aranas de madero dorado, a 50 ps..... 50
2 Bonbas de cristal, a 4 ps..... 8
2 Espejos, a 5 ps..... 10
4 Atriles de madero fino, a 3 ps..... 12
5 Paulayos de ojo de lata, a 5 rs..... 3:1
1 Monumento viejo, a 30 ps..... 30

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2 Campanas de bara a bronze, a 100 ps..... 200
2 Esquilas de idem, a 25 ps..... 50
1 Campana de idem, a 50 ps..... 50
1 Campanita, a 15 ps..... 15
1 Organo, a 70 ps..... 70

Juan José Rocha Fr. Fernando Martínes

Existencias que risibio el Senor Comisionado Don Juan Jose Rocha el 25 de Septembre de 1834: Del R. P. Fray Fernando Martin:

ALMACEN

18 varas ¾ indiana de flores grandes
29 v. sangaleta
2 piezas manta azul
2 idem islanda
1 pieza sangaleta
3 idem manta blanca cruda
18 varas idem de idem
21 ½ vs idem de idem
14 vs indiana fina
13 vs manta azul
22 vs indiana en retasos
1 vs pano azul picado
4 pares medios de algodon
1 pieza pano estrella
5 vs idem de idem
3 ¼ vs cotonia listada
15½ vs alemanisco
3 lbs 11 onzas hilo de bolitas
17 panitos de polbos
15 vs brin
4 onzas hilo de bolitas
4 docenas botones grandes
5 ½ idem chicos
23 dedales de cobre
2 llabes de barriles
19 lbs pita floja
1 ½ arrobas tabaco en oja
18 manos papel
7 cuchillos para matansa
25 baquetas
10 pipas basias
2 idem llenas de bino
1 idem llena a medias
5 carcos de barriles
1 cuarterola binagre
1 pipa con aceitunas

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1 cuarterola a medias
1 terserola llena
30 pesos jabon
173 fresadas
3 piezas beyeta
1 pieza jerga
47 cotones
4 cajones de cardas
1 idem empesado
10 gamusas de benado
3 cueros de idem
16 baquetillos
7 pares sapatos
1 ½ arrobas tabaco en oja
165 cueros de res

FRAGUA

1 Yungue
2 machos
2 martillos
2 pares tenasas
1 clabera
1 punzon cuadrado grande
1 tapadera
2 romperleras
1 clabera chica

BANCO

2 tornillos
2 taladros
4 limas
3 limatones
2 buriles
1 cincel
2 punzones redondos
1 media cana de grabar
2 brocas
escaradar

CARPINTERIA

2 serruchos
2 asuelas
4 escoplos
1 formon
5 barrenas de todos tamanos
1 martillo
1 felderete
1 garlopa
1 gramil

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1 desarmador
1 oja de pepillo
1 concel

ZAPATERIA

1 horma nueba
3 idem biejas

SILLERIA

1 compas
7 fierras de picar
1 cuchillo

OBRAGE

4 telares
2 inutiles
2 tornos
2 ½ rastrillos
1 debanador
12 pares cardas
1 peine para manta
1 lisero
1 balanza
1 romana
14 tornos de las muchachas
6 ½ arrobas de zucar
80 arrobas fierro
4 dosenas fresedas
10 baquetillas
7 arrobas 22 lbs fierro
3 arrobas 21 lbs acero
1 balanza grande
25 arrobas algodon
1 alambique viejo
1 prenza de aceite
2 pipas para echar aceite
2 metates para moler chocolate
4 idem para trigo
1 idem de cosina
2 alambiques buenos
2 idem inutiles

USTENCILES DE CASA Y MUEBLES DE IDEM

11 platos de mesa
8 platomitos chicos
1 idem mediano
2 platones grandes
12 platillos con tasas de cha
8 saleros
5 tasas y 7 platillos

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1 salsera
1 tapa suelta de cristal
1 cunete destapado
2 mesas de pino 2 varas ⅓ de largo
3 mesitas de 1½ y 2 varas
2 bancas de pino biejas
1 idem de cedro con cojin
7 sillas medero de pino
2 butaguez biejos
1 rinconera con una alisena
1 frasquera bieja sin frascos
2 cajas de pino biejas
1 cajita con papeles
3 damas juanas
1 lb pabilo
1 cajon botequin mediano
1 idem mayor
1 cajon con barias medicinas
3 botellas aceite rosado
1 idem estracto satureno
1 idem elixir paragoric
1 idem catolico
½ botellon sal de ligera
3 cajas biejas
5 colchones
4 almuadas
2 pares de sabanas
4 camas
2 tibores chicos y grandes
1 tibor o botija que tiene salazar
2 dosenas azadones

Haber Sastifecho a Don Tomas 121 cuero. Idem a Don Antonio Menendes 203. Idem a Don G. A. Gali 32.

Una carta a donde consta que el Senor Don Antonio Carrillo debe 250:00
Don Joaquin Ortega.....150:00
Don Domingo Carrillo..... 41:00
Genaro Peralta .....25 reses
Julio Osuna .....37 idem
Idem idem en plata.....211:00

Juan José Rocha Fray Fernando Martínes

Mision de San Diego Octubre 19 de 1842

Fr. Vicente Pasqual Oliva

(rubric)

Certificamos los abajo firmados que esta Copia del inventario

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esta fielmente trasladada de su original y para que conste donde conbenga. Damos la presente certificacion en la Mision de San Diego a 19 de Octubre de 1842

José Antonio Góngora
(rubric)

Macário Rivera
(rubric)

Nota

En este Inventario falta la entrega de bienes de campo, y no consta de ninguna parte que ganado mayor y menor y caballada habia en el ano, que se entrego la Mision

(Oliva's rubric)

F.

(To Page 262.)

Inventario de los Enseres pertenecientes a la Mision de San Diego, recibidos de E. L. Brown por Felipe Crossthwaite, San Diego, Agosto 6 de 1848

2 Tazas de Cristal
3 Vasos id.
1 Azucarera id.
6 Jarros id.
2 Bancas de pino
4 Sillas id.
1 Silla Inglesa
4 Vasos
2 Soperas imperfectas
2 Platones azules
2 Mesas de cocina de pino
1 Molinito de mano
1 Desgranador de maiz
1 Balanza de covre con sus pesos
1 Catre
3 Escoplos
3 Barrenas
3 Barrenas de barril
3 Gurbias
2 Garlopas
2 Martillitos
1 Escuadra de fierro
2 Reloges imperfectos
1 Cafetera
2 Cajas de medicina
2 Chapas de puerta
50 Pares Cardas
2 Vasos grandes
1 Vaso chico
1 Baul guarnecido de fierro con
47 Platos chicos
16 Platos de mesa
5 Platos soperos
2 Platos medianos
2 Tazas de cristal
1 Lechera
1 Salera
1 Botella chica
1 Cajoncito de hoja de lata
1 Baul de cuero cuyo contenido se ignora
1 Mesa de pino
1 Espejo
3 Candeleros de recamara
6 Platos medianos
1 Plato imperfecto
4 Platos chicos
2 Ollas grandes de fierro
3 Platos chicos
1 Cazo de cobre

ANIMALES

23 Yeguas
6 Caballos
13 Potros

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2 Pasadores
4 Serruchos
2 Barras
2 Aceyteras imperfectos
12 Tenedores
1 Botella de cristal
1 Azucarera
2 Platitos
1 Lechera
6 Tazas con sus platitos
1 Tetera
1 Azucarera
3 Cajones vacios
5 Barriles vacios
1 Baul de pelo con
8 Platones
1 Azucarera
1 Tetera
3 Lecheras
2 Botellas para miel
2 Botellas de cristal
1 Muleto
38 Cabras
6 Cabritos
28 Borregas
5 Corderos
34 Vacas
17 Becerros
2 Bueyes
7 Burras
1 Burro
5 Burritos y Burritas

Recibi del Senor E. L. Brown los antemencionados Enseres de la Mision.

San Diego, Agosto 6 de 1848.

(Firmado) Felipe Crossthwaite.[1]

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[1] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, 1102; see also *Cal. Arch. Unbound Documents*, p. 173, *Bancroft Collection*.

G.

(To Page 265.)

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

To All To Whom These Presents Shall Come. Greeting:

Whereas it appears from a duly authenticated transcript filed in the General Land Office of the United States that pursuant to the provisions of the Act of Congress approved the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one entitled "An Act to ascertain and settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California," Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Monterey, in the State of California, as claimant, filed his petition on the 19th day of February 1853, with the Commissioners to ascertain and settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California sitting as a Board in the City of San Francisco, in which petition he claimed the confirmation to him and his successors of the title to certain church property in California, "to be held by him and them in trust for the religious purposes and uses to which the same have been respectively appropriated," said property consisting of "church edifices, houses, for the use of the clergy and those employed in the service of the church, church yards, burial grounds, gardens, orchards and vineyards with the necessary buildings thereon and appurtenances," the same having been recognized as the property of said Church by

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the laws of Mexico in force at the time of the cession of California to the United States, and whereas the Board of Land Commissioners aforesaid on the 18th day of December, 1855, rendered a decree of confirmation in favor of the petitioner for certain lands described therein to be held "in the capacity and for the uses set forth in his petition" the lands at the Mission of San Diego being described in said decree as follows: "The Church and the buildings adjoining thereto, erected on three sides of a quadrangle and constituting the Church and Mission buildings of the ancient Mission of San Diego in San Diego County, together with the land on which the same are erected and the curtilage and appurtenances thereto belonging and the cemetery adjoining the same, and also the garden situated South of the buildings above mentioned and a short distance therefrom enclosed with an adobe wall, and known as the garden of said Mission, the said premises being the same designated as 'Church Buildings' and 'Garden' in the delineation thereof on Map numbered I in the Atlas marked 'Exhibit No. I A. F.' and annexed to the deposition of James Alexander Forbes, filed in this case November 29th, 1854, reference to be made thereto for further description"; and whereas it further appears from a certified transcript filed in the General Land Office, that an appeal from said decree or decision of the Commissioners having been taken on behalf of the United States to the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of California, and it being shown to the Court that it was not the intention of the United States to prosecute further said appeal, the said District Court on the 15th March, 1858, at the regular term "ordered that said appeal be dismissed and said appellee have leave to proceed under the decree of the said Land Commissioners in his favor as a final decree." And whereas, under the 13th Section of the said Act of 3d March, 1851, there have been presented to the Commissioner of the General Land Office a plat and certificate of the survey of the tract of land confirmed as aforesaid, authenticated on the 12th day of August, 1861, by the signature of the Surveyor General of the Public Lands in California, which plat and certificate are in the words and figures following, to wit:

(Here follows the minute description of the tracts surveyed, which it is not necessary to reproduce, because the subjoined plat explains itself sufficiently.)

"United States Surveyor General's Office,
San Francisco, California.

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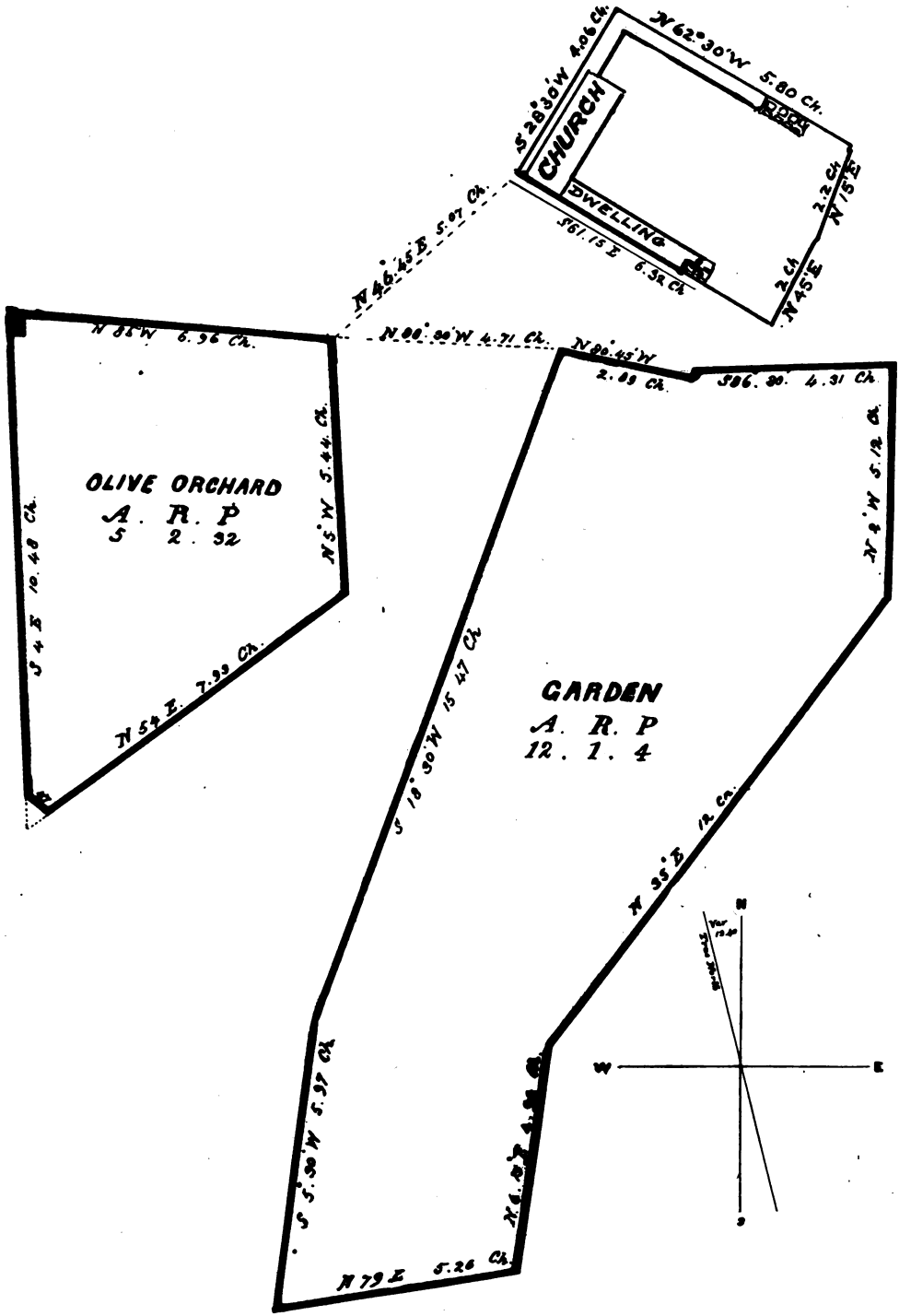

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"Under and by virtue of the provisions of the 13th section of the Act of Congress of the 3rd of March, 1851, entitled, An Act to ascertain and settle Private Land Claims in the State of California, and of the 12th section of the Act of Congress approved on the 31st of August, 1852, entitled An Act making appropriations for the Civil and Diplomatic expenses of the Government for the year ending the thirtieth of June, eighteen hundred and fifty-three and for other purposes, and in consequence of a certificate of the United States District Court for the Southern District of California, of which a copy is annexed having been filed in this office, whereby it appears that the Attorney General of the United States having given notice that it was not the intention of the United States to prosecute the appeal from the decision of the said District Court, said decision having confirmed the title and claim of Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop, etc., to the tract of land designated as the Church and Mission buildings of the Ancient Mission of San Diego, the said appeal has been vacated and thereby the said decision in favor of the said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop, etc., has become final. The said tract has been surveyed in conformity with the grant thereof and the said decision, and do hereby certify the annexed map to be a true and accurate plat of the said tract of land as appears by the field notes of the survey thereof made by Henry Hancock, Deputy Surveyor, in the month of February, eighteen hundred and sixty, under the directions of this office, which having been examined and approved, are now on file therein. And I do further certify that in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Congress approved on the 14th of June, 1860, entitled 'An Act to amend an Act entitled An Act to define and regulate the jurisdiction of the District Courts of the United States in California in regard to the survey and location of confirmed private land claims,' I have caused to be published once a week for four weeks successively in two newspapers, to wit: the San Bernardino Herald, published in the County of San Bernardino, being the newspaper published nearest to where the said claim is located, the first publication being on the 1st day of November 1860, and the last on the 9th day of February, 1861, also in the Los Angeles Star, a newspaper published in the City and County of Los Angeles, the first publication being on the 20th day of October 1860, and the last on the 10th day of November 1860, a notice that the said claim had been surveyed and a plat made thereof and approved by me. And I do further certify that the said approved plat of survey was retained in this office during all said four weeks and until the expiration thereof subject to inspection. And I do further certify that no order for the return thereof to the United States District Court has been served upon me. And I do further certify that under

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and by virtue of the said confirmation, survey, decree and publications, the said Joseph S. Alemany is entitled to a patent from the United States upon the presentation hereof to the General Land Office for the said tract of land, the same being bounded and described as follows, to wit:—See Engraving of Missions and Lands confirmed to the Church.

NOW KNOW YE, That the United States of America, in consideration of the premises and pursuant to the provisions of the Act of Congress aforesaid of 3d March 1851, HAVE GIVEN AND GRANTED, and by these presents DO GIVE and GRANT, unto the said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop of Monterey and to his successors, "in trust for the religious purposes and uses to which the same have been respectively appropriated," the tracts of land embraced and described in the foregoing survey, but with the stipulation that in virtue of the 15th section of the said Act, the confirmation of this said claim and this patent "shall not affect the interests of third persons."

To Have and To Hold the said tracts of land with the appurtenances, and with the stipulation aforesaid, unto the said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop of Monterey, and to his successors, in trust for the uses and purposes as aforesaid.

In testimony whereof I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, have caused these letters to be made patent, and the Seal of the General Land Office to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand at the City of Washington, this twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty two, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty sixth.

SEAL.

By the President,

A. Lincoln

By W. O. STODDARD, Secretary

I. N. GRANGER, Recorder of the General Land Office.

Recorded Vol. 4, pages 94 to 101 inclusive.

Ed. Iho.

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H.

Rancherias and Stations which were attended from San Diego or from which converts applied to be admitted to Mission San Diego. After 1798, some of these came under the jurisdiction of Mission San Luis Rey.

Ajagues, rancheria of Colorado Indians
Apanall
Apusquela (Apuoquele) or La Purisima Concepcion
Batequitos or San Alejo
Carnijar, belonging to Santa Isabél
Chiayp, Santo Domingo, or La Punta
Las Choyas or San Antonio
Choyai or San Luis Rey
Coapan or Santa Cruz in San Luis Rey Valley
Cojuat
Copehor cerca de las Batequitos
Cosoy or San Diego, first site of Mission San Diego
Cusmich
Cuyamaca, Cuyamai, Cuyamac, Guiamac
Elcuanan or Santa Isabél
Elpuhde
Ensenada
Guechi or San Juan Capistrano
Guisper
Hochapo or Santa Margarita de Cortona
Huato
Huagil or San Luis Obispo
Istagua or Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, ten miles west from Old Town, four or five miles from the Mission of San Diego
Iguai en la sierra de Cayamac
Iguapalp
Jalcomai, Jalcuamai
Jamul
Jacopin (Aguas Calientes) belonging to Santa Isabél
Jamocha or San Jacomé de la Marca
Janat or San Miguel
Jagui belonging to Santa Isabél
Janisol
Jasamalg
Jatapac, rumbo de Pagua
Jellcuichapachs, rumbo de Pamo
Jemecha belonging to Santa Isabél

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Jepuc, rumbo de San Miguel
Joljol
Juguil belonging to Santa Margarita de Cortona
Juscol or San Miguel
Majattot
Matamó or San Juan Capistrano el Viejo (San Luis Rey)
Melijo
Mel-lajo cerca de la Santo Domingo
Neti (Meti?) or San Jorje
Nucmoa
Otay, Otahay
La Punta
Paguai
Pamó or Asumpcion
Pelcha or Santa Monica
Quanayuel cerca del Bescanso
Rincon or San Francisco
Saçoja
Sallagua or San Dieguito, later San Benito Palermo, twenty miles from Old Town
Semojo
Setjun belonging to Santa Monica
Taxin y Jallapo (La Corral) or San Rafael
Tecate
Teguila or San Felipe
Tia Juana belonging to La Punta
Rosário
San Buenaventura
San Bernardo
San Sebastian de los Yumas
San Isídro
San Pasqual

I.

Those who have read Appendix H on *Mission Tales in Word and Picture,* in Volume IV of *The Missions and Missionaries of California,* will not be surprised to learn that various stories have circulated about the old Indian Missions. Of these stories some are quite silly, others are vicious and made-to-order, while others, well-meant, indeed, evolved from promiscuous reading of fiction. One of these latter stories shall be reproduced here, since the writer has been repeatedly questioned on it and has heard similar ones told of at least one of the Missions much farther north.

The courteous and able author of *Mission Architecture,* Prent Duell, A. M., writes on page 45: "As a closing word it may be well to men-

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tion the underground passages. Most missions of early date possessed secret passages as a means of escape in case they were besieged. It is difficult to locate any of them now, as they are well concealed or fallen in. San Diego Mission has an underground passage of very ingenious arrangement, leading, perhaps, from some room in the mission to the well at the foot of the hill. Its entrance has never been sought for and it has for the most part fallen in, as can be found by exploring from the well. The passage led underground from the well, opening into the sides several yards below the level of the grade. The padres could then go and fetch water without being seen by a hostile band of Indians. Across the well, the passage continued some distance further and made an exit in the group of palm trees, planted by the Fathers. Hence, in the time of great danger, the padres could enter the passage, leap across the well and escape by the exit at a considerable distance from the mission. The mission at an early date was destroyed and several of the Fathers escaped by this means."

Such is the story of the San Diego Tunnel. Notwithstanding the minute description and explanation, it is all pure fiction. Not the slightest historical evidence can be adduced that such a tunnel ever existed at Mission San Diego or at any other of the old California Missions. In fact, there was no need for any such underground passage. In the whole mass of available documents no mention whatever is made that a tunnel was built, nor is there the faintest allusion that anything of the kind was ever contemplated. During their more than twelve years sojourn at Mission San Diego, the United States soldiers would surely have made excavations and discovered the tunnel, if there had been any in connection with the buildings. Furthermore, in 1775, when the Mission was destroyed, two Fathers were living there. One was killed by the Indians, while the other escaped, but not through any tunnel, as the reader of this work will be able to explain to any one who wishes to know the facts.

The well or cistern at the foot of the Mission ruins, which arouses the curiosity of visitors (not to be confounded with the double well farther to the left), probably dates back no farther than the period of 1847-1858, when U. S. troops were quartered in the buildings. There is a similar well or cistern at some distance from the front wing of Mission San Luis Rey. The soldiers came from the Eastern States where in those days cisterns for collecting fresh water were a common institution, so to speak, and where waterworks were rather uncommon facilities. It would seem that the soldiers in this way provided themselves with a supply of fresh water for domestic purposes from the river before it ran dry. Inasmuch as only the two Missions of San Diego and San Luis Rey harbored United States troops for any length of time, it is quite probable that the two wells or cisterns originated with them.

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